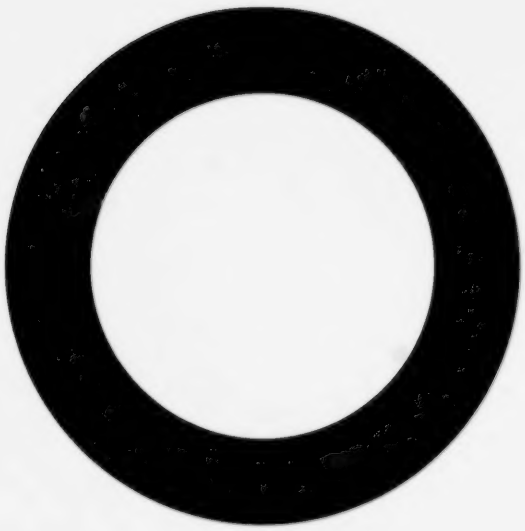


United Nations S/PV.4366

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4366th meeting

Monday, 10 September 2001, 10.30 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Levitte	(France)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	Ireland	Mr. Ryan
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Touré
	Mauritius	Mr. Gokool
	Norway	Mr. Strømmen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Singapore	Mr. Yap
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Kulyk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Security Council resolution 1160 (1998) of 31 March 1998.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-53165 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Security Council resolution 1160 (1998) of 31 March 1998

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the United Nations, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Šahović (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2001/849, which contains the text of a letter dated 6 September 2001 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council. Members of the Council also have before them document S/2001/854, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/2001/854) before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Bangladesh, China, Colombia, France, Ireland, Jamaica, Mali, Mauritius, Norway, Russian Federation, Singapore, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1367 (2001).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 10.50 a.m.

United Nations S/PV.4367

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4367th meeting

Monday, 10 September 2001, 10.50 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Levitte	(France)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	Ireland	Mr. Ryan
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Touré
	Mauritius	Mr. Gokool
	Norway	Mr. Strømmen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Yap
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Kuchinsky
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

The situation in East Timor.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-53171 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.50 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in East Timor

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Australia, Belgium, Chile, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand and Portugal, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Dauth (Australia), Mr. De Loecker (Belgium), Mr. Valdés (Chile), Mr. Hidayat (Indonesia), Mr. Satoh (Japan), Mr. MacKay (New Zealand) and Mr. Seixas da Costa (Portugal) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President (*spoke in French*): In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Mr. Guéhenno to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

At this meeting, the Security Council will hear a briefing by Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations. As there is no list of speakers for this meeting, I would invite those who wish to take the floor to so indicate to the Secretariat as from now.

I give the floor to Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno.

Mr. Guéhenno (*spoke in French*): Members of the Council will recall that on 23 August, the Secretariat provided a briefing on the preparations for the elections in Timor. I am pleased to report today that the elections for the Constituent Assembly of East Timor were held on 30 August in an orderly and peaceful manner. This historic event, in which 91 per cent of the electorate participated, occurred exactly two years to the day after the East Timorese voted overwhelmingly for independence on 30 August 1999.

Today, in Dili, the Independent Electoral Commission announced the final certified results and declared that the criteria for a free and fair election had been met. In their statement, the Commissioners went on to add that

> "all the evidence available to the Board suggests that the campaign was the most peaceful at any election organized, supervised and controlled or verified by the United Nations, and in general, more resembled an election campaign in a stable established democracy than a campaign in a country hosting a peacekeeping operation."

Of the 16 parties that contested the elections, 12 won seats in the 88-seat Constituent Assembly. The East Timor National Liberation Front (Fretilin), led by Francisco Guterres and Mari Alkatiri, received the strongest support: 57.4 per cent of the valid votes cast and 12 of the 13 district seats, giving it a total of 55 seats, which is five short of the majority needed to pass the constitution.

The determination of the East Timorese to embrace democracy was evident throughout the electoral process. During the campaign period, they demanded of the political parties their full adherence to the principles of the 8 July Pact of National Unity. Under the Pact, 14 of the 16 registered parties committed themselves to respecting the outcome of the election, to conducting themselves in a peaceful and mutually respectful fashion and to defending multi-party democracy. Campaigning centred largely on personalities, past records and symbols. Few formal complaints relating to campaigning offences were lodged and not one alleged breach of the Electoral Offences Regulation was upheld. At the conclusion of the campaign on 28 August, a "day of silence", during which all activities related to campaigning were prohibited, was observed.

On election day, 30 August, the 248 polling centres were run almost entirely by some 5,000 East Timorese. Many voters in rural districts travelled in family groups by foot throughout the night in order to arrive at polling stations by 7 a.m., while others slept outside them so as to be at the head of the queue. Crowds formed very early at the polling centres. Despite a delay in opening some of the locations and the need for electors to wait in line for several hours in the open sun, very few disturbances took place. Those that did happen were minor, resulting from the impatience of those waiting in line or the enthusiasm of voters casting their ballots for the second time in the recent history of East Timor. None of these incidents cast the least doubt on the integrity of the electoral process.

A number of polling sites remained open beyond the scheduled closing time of 4 p.m. to enable those still waiting on line to vote. In accordance with pre-established procedures, 11,999 voters whose names did not appear on the electoral role, but who had a proof of registration dated on or before 23 June, were allowed to vote. In total, some 382,968 East Timorese cast their ballot, approximately 91 per cent of the 421,018 eligible voters. By district, the lowest turnout was in Dili — "lowest" being a relative term, since participation there ran at over 88 per cent — while the highest was in Ermera, at 94 per cent.

No last-minute incidents of intimidation or other illegal activity were reported. Concerns that party "security groups" might turn out at polling stations on voting day to intimidate voters were not realized. In advance of 30 August, Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the Transitional Administrator, issued a public warning that their presence would not be tolerated. Throughout the day, the border with Indonesia remained open and normal crossings in both directions took place. Only six refugees, who had previously registered in East Timor then returned to West Timor, are known to have crossed back again in order to vote in Oecussi district.

Over 1,700 observers monitored the election, some 500 international monitors and 1,200 East Timorese belonging to local non-governmental organizations. Their reports have uniformly praised the conduct of the election and the manner in which the Timorese participated. Criticism, such as it has been, has focused on the inexperience of some of those responsible for polling stations, on the occasionally slow processing of voters and the crowds that formed as a result, and on some delays, such as at Dili, where polling booths remained open after the official closing hour.

Altogether, over 4,000 political party representatives and independent candidates were accredited and observed the electoral process, including the voting itself, the transportation of ballot boxes and the counting procedures, all of which was closely followed. Ballot boxes were transported to the counting centres that evening with one exception, due to poor road conditions. The boxes remained overnight under the guard of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) civilian police and were flown out the next morning to the central counting station. On 31 August, the ballot boxes were opened at the district counting centres and their contents reconciled with the polling records. After this verification, the ballots from the various polling centres were mixed to ensure that it would be impossible to determine the voting patterns of any village. Voting patterns can be identified only at the district level. Counting was closely followed by the observers.

The parties contesting the election raised a number of questions about spoiled and blank ballots. In the Aileu district, where over 40 per cent of the ballots cast were blank, a party which had failed to nominate a district candidate had actively encouraged the population to leave their ballots blank. However, the Independent Electoral Commission concluded that the overall percentage of invalid votes — approximately 5.4 per cent in the national ballot and 8.71 per cent in the district ballots — was well within acceptable parameters.

(*spoke in English*)

Provisional results were declared progressively during the course of last week and, on 6 September, the Independent Electoral Commission's Chief Officer, Mr. Carlos Valenzuela, released the uncertified overall results of the elections.

Those who wished to lodge complaints with the Independent Electoral Commission over the voting or counting process had a right to do so by 8 September. Three parties lodged formal complaints with the Independent Electoral Commission, alleging systemic problems with the conduct of the poll. None of their

complaints were upheld or considered serious enough to justify remedial action.

As I mentioned previously, the final certified result was announced today. Fretilin secured 55 of the 88 seats in the Constituent Assembly. Second- and third-placed in the results were two newly established parties, the Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party winning seven and six seats respectively, or 8.7 per cent and 8.2 per cent of the national vote. Together, the two parties broadly represent the activists of the former National Council of Timorese Resistance.

The Timorese Social Democratic Association (ASDT) led by Francisco Xavier do Amaral — briefly the self-declared President of East Timor in 1975 — came in fourth with 7.8 per cent of the vote and six seats. It did particularly well in its central mountain strongholds, securing a higher vote than Fretilin in the district of Aileu.

Four other parties, all drawing their strength from social conservatives with traditionalist leanings — the Timor People's Party, KOTA, the Timorese National Party and the Christian Democratic Party — each gained two seats in the Assembly.

Independent national candidates did not fare well, none of them succeeding in gaining a seat. One district independent, however, did win in Oecussi. Twenty-three women members will be present in the 88-seat Assembly, a percentage of 27 per cent.

Altogether 12 parties will be represented in the Assembly, while four failed to gain entry. In an interesting development, the leader of the ASDT, Francisco Xavier do Amaral, has announced his willingness to form a coalition with Fretilin. Should this coalition materialize, Fretilin and ASDT would have a controlling majority in the Assembly.

The people of East Timor deserve to be congratulated on the manner in which the election was conducted. In a positive sign of future good relations, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Hassan Wirayuda, called Mr. Vieira de Mello on behalf of the Indonesian Government to congratulate the East Timorese for the orderly and peaceful conduct of the electoral process. At the same time, he extended an invitation from President Megawati Suekaronoputri to meet with Messrs. Vieira de Mello, Gusmão, Alkatiri and Ramos-Horta on 12 September. This will be the first meeting between the President and the leadership of East Timor.

In the next few days, Mr. Vieira de Mello hopes to announce the formation of a new Cabinet, which is expected to be composed entirely of East Timorese and to reflect broadly the election outcome. The inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly will be held on 15 September.

In the past, UNTAET had indications that some refugees in West Timor wished to return to East Timor, but did not do so out of fear of the past association of elections with violence. UNTAET and the Indonesian authorities are currently finalizing arrangements for what is hoped will be the return of an estimated 2,000 refugees from West Timor to East Timor's Ainaro district later this week.

As regards the return of an international presence to West Timor, members of the Council may recall that an inter-agency security assessment mission was dispatched to West Timor from 8 to 14 July. The mission recommended the conclusion of a memorandum of understanding between the Government of Indonesia and the United Nations specifying the exact security arrangements to be provided to United Nations personnel before United Nations agencies resume operations in West Timor. Once this memorandum of understanding is concluded, the security phase could be lowered from Five to Four in all districts in West Timor, except Belu district. A draft agreement is now being finalized.

In conclusion, the successful and peaceful conduct of the election and the commitment of the parties to the Pact of National Unity bode well for East Timor's future as an independent, democratic nation.

The next few months will indeed bring with them complex and difficult challenges. The members of the Constituent Assembly will soon begin drafting a constitution. Their challenge will be to live up to the expectations of the East Timorese who have entrusted them with the weighty responsibility of organizing a sustainable, democratic State. Concurrent with this process, UNTAET, together with the East Timorese Cabinet, will continue to lay the necessary foundations for effective and lean administrative structures. In this regard, Mr. Vieira de Mello intends to continue the process of delegating authority to the East Timorese within the parameters of resolutions 1272 (1999) and 1338 (2001).

The continued commitment and patience of the East Timorese and the confirmed strong support of the international community will be essential during this complex period and beyond independence if East Timor is to have a sustainable and democratic future.

The Secretary-General's report in October will present the planning for UNTAET's follow-on mission, which will be designed in cooperation with the East Timorese, to ensure that the tasks entrusted to the United Nations are completed in an effective manner.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations for his precise and comprehensive presentation of what can only be qualified as a success for the United Nations and for democracy and as a very encouraging sign for the future of East Timor.

Mr. Eldon (United Kingdom): Today we have reached another very important and significant milestone in the long process of seeking independence for East Timor, one which in a sense began with the Agreement of May 1999.

We have seen again, as we saw during the Popular Consultation, in 1999, the appetite of the East Timorese people for democracy and for freedom of choice. We welcome very sincerely the outcome of the elections, which Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno has described to us today.

Mr. Ben Bradshaw, the Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, was able to see for himself — during a visit to East Timor during the polling — the commendable way in which the elections were organized and the commendable way in which the East Timorese participated. We applaud the spirit with which the East Timorese approached the elections, which has laid down the right foundations for inclusive democracy for the future. We call on all the Timorese political parties to respect the outcome of the elections and to work together to draft the constitution and to prepare East Timor for independence.

Jean-Marie Guéhenno quite rightly congratulated the Timorese people on the conduct of the elections. But congratulations are also due to the United Nations — to the Secretary-General, to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and to Special Representative Sergio Vieira de Mello — for the impressive arrangements that were made for the elections and for the way in which they were organized to allow them to go off both peacefully and in a way that is more like, as Mr. Guéhenno also said, elections in a normally democratic country than in a country that is currently hosting a peacekeeping operation.

I think this is a proud moment in the history of United Nations peacekeeping operations. It is a proud moment not only because of the success that I have just described, but because, in a sense, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) is something very new, very complex and very challenging for the United Nations. The Organization has carried it off extremely well.

It is clearly important that the international community remains engaged in East Timor. The statement that you, Mr. President, will read at the end of this meeting will reiterate the importance that the Council attaches to a substantial international presence in East Timor post-independence. It is very important that the planning for that is done properly, done inclusively and done in the spirit of the Brahimi report, involving the whole United Nations system, because all the various constituent parts of our Organization, our system, our agencies will need to be involved in helping East Timor through that initial, difficult period immediately after independence.

We very much look forward to receiving the Secretary-General's report next month, outlining the proposed arrangements for the successor mission to UNTAET. We, and I am sure other members of the Council, will be looking at it very carefully — but also very sympathetically and with an eye to making sure that the United Nations can keep up the excellent record it has already begun with UNTAET.

The President (*spoke in French*): I welcome the presence of the Secretary-General among us.

Mr. Granovsky (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Today's consideration of the question of East Timor in the Security Council is marked by a singularly important event in the development of that territory, namely, the successful holding of elections to the Constitutional Assembly. As members of the Council are aware, the first general elections in East Timor took place freely and without any incident whatever, and enjoyed high voter turn-out. It is noteworthy that over 90 per cent of the electorate took part in the election.

That is undoubtedly an important achievement for both the East Timorese themselves and for the United Nations as a whole, which for two years now has been actively involved in determining the future of East Timor. Naturally, high marks also go to the activities of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), headed by Special Representative of the Secretary-General Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello.

In our view, the atmosphere in which the elections were held should cause us to take note of the consistent and good-neighbourly attitude of Indonesia. We are convinced that, in the interests of strengthening stability in the region, both the Indonesians and the East Timorese must do everything necessary to further nurture the first tender shoots of mutual understanding and respect.

The elections for the Constitutional Assembly were the first step towards the independence of East Timor since the 1999 referendum. The birth of a new State will undoubtedly be an important event in the life of the world community. But we should not forget that this very welcome fact will have to be accompanied by a great deal of work to consolidate the State structure, lay the foundations of the economy and build a democratic society. Naturally, responsibility for that lies first and foremost with the East Timorese themselves.

At the same time, no one should have any doubt that the international community must keep an eye on East Timor and give it all the help it can. The success that has been achieved by the United Nations in this territory should not turn into failure. We expect that, upon receipt of the Secretary-General's recommendations in October of this year, there will be a specific discussion of the form of a future United Nations presence in East Timor. It is our hope that no one will harbour any doubts about the actual presence of the United Nations in East Timor after independence. Its specific parameters will have to be agreed with the future Government of East Timor.

In conclusion, may I say that we believe the international community has every reason to give a positive assessment of the developments in East Timor and of the prospects for its development.

Mr. Cunningham (United States): I think the presence of the Secretary-General with us today signifies the import of the event that we are here discussing and commemorating. This is truly a rare example of good news and encouraging news, a cause for quite a bit of satisfaction. We now have democracy serving solidly as a base for movement ahead in East Timor. We have a solid basis via elections for a Constituent Assembly. Fretilin has a strong but not an overwhelming majority and will work with others to determine the future.

I applaud the Fretilin leaders who have asserted that their approach will be one of inclusion, seeking consensus on a modern and well-crafted constitution. This is certainly a wise approach for the long term and one that we expect will prove out and should be emulated.

The results of the election and Fretilin's commitment also honour the commitment of the people of East Timor to democracy and the elections, as was evident in Jean-Marie Guéhenno's briefing.

It is clear that the approach to and the conduct of the elections was an example to the world community, as the Secretary-General said recently, and as was also observed by a number of members of the international community, including the United States Assistant Secretary of State James Kelly, who was there with an American delegation. I want to join others who have congratulated the United Nations, the Secretary-General, Mr. Vieira de Mello and his colleagues at the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), the independent electoral commission, and certainly the Timorese themselves.

We support Mr. Vieira de Mello's intent, as the transitional leader, to form a new all-Timorese cabinet that reflects the spirit and results of the elections. We also find very welcome the news that Mr. Vieira de Mello and East Timorese leaders will meet soon with Indonesian President Megawati. Certainly dialogue is the way to move forward and the way to resolve the issues that are still outstanding.

I also want to recall, as Mr. Guéhenno did, the East Timorese refugees that are still in West Timor. We hope that reports that a large group of refugees may participate in returns to the East this week are borne out and that this will be a beginning of movement of all those who wish to return. We hope that the success of the elections encourages confidence in that respect.

Mr. Ryan (Ireland): I agree with Ambassador Cunningham that the presence here today of Secretary-General Annan marks the importance for the United

Nations of recent developments in East Timor. We are grateful for today's briefing from Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno and for the opportunity provided by this meeting to review those developments, particularly the handling of recent elections there.

The representative of Belgium will shortly deliver a statement on behalf of the European Union. As Ireland subscribes fully to the views described in it, I will therefore make only a few specific comments.

Ireland warmly welcomes the fact that elections on 30 August took place in a calm and peaceful atmosphere. The impeccable character and conduct of the elections are indeed very heartening. We are encouraged by the extremely high voter turnout, which is a clear sign of the determination of the East Timorese people to establish full control over their own political destiny. We congratulate them and their leaders for the courage and vision they have displayed over the past two years in preparing for this important event.

We encourage the various political parties to continue to demonstrate the responsibility they displayed in the run-up to the elections. We also congratulate the staff of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) for their continuing commitment, their hard work and their professionalism.

We welcome the cooperation extended by the Government of Indonesia during the election period, and we are greatly encouraged by the information provided by Mr. Guéhenno about the meeting to be held in Jakarta on Wednesday among President Megawati Sukarnoputri, Special Representative Sergio Vieira de Mello and members of the East Timorese Transitional Administration.

The holding of elections represents a crucial step in the complex and lengthy process of transition towards independence. We wish those elected every success in the difficult task of drafting a constitution. We continue to believe that a substantial international presence will be necessary after independence, and in this regard we look forward to the recommendations of the Secretary-General in his October report, and to further discussions on the matter.

For its part, Ireland remains committed to supporting East Timor up to and beyond independence. I agree very strongly with Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno's statement this morning in this regard.

Finally, Ireland supports the presidential statement, which we believe provides a balanced view of Security Council policy towards East Timor and fully reflects the tone of discussions here today.

Mr. Strømmen (Norway): Allow me to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate and compliment the United Nations and the East Timorese people on the accomplishment of a very successful election for a Constituent Assembly in East Timor on 30 August.

We are particularly pleased with the fact that the first democratic election was conducted in a fair and peaceful manner, free of incidents. This historic moment will be remembered as a demonstration of the eagerness of the East Timorese to confront their differences and to actively take part in the formation of their nation's future.

Moreover, the massive voter turnout is a clear indication of the capacity of the East Timorese people to exercise their democratic rights without fail. Norway was one of the first countries to send an official delegation to the territory following the 1999 turmoil. Bearing in mind what we were confronted with as we arrived in Dili in November 1999, it was indeed encouraging and touching to witness the commitment and eagerness of the East Timorese in front of the polling centres on August 30 this year.

I would like to take this opportunity to urge the political parties to live up to their obligations as manifested in the Pact of National Unity. Respect for the outcome of the election will be one of the first milestones in the foundation of an independent, democratic nation and an important part of securing a political atmosphere conducive to optimizing the framework for a peaceful and democratic environment.

East Timor is again entering a challenging phase. The declaration of independence is approaching, and the people have chosen a Constituent Assembly that will be a crucial asset in the process of transforming East Timor into an independent nation. For a successful drafting of the constitution, the Assembly will need the full support of the political leaders and the constituencies, as well as of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and the international community.

The months to come will also bring new challenges for UNTAET. It is now of vital importance that the process of Timorization continues. The election of the Constituent Assembly also implies that UNTAET has to adjust its routines, as from now on the mission has to respond to a democratically elected body. This adjustment is crucial with regard to UNTAET's responsible and smooth withdrawal, and it is a very important step on East Timor's path towards independence.

The East Timorese experience has in many ways been unique and overwhelmingly positive. Seldom has a United Nations mission been given such a complex and wide-ranging mandate. It is now of vital importance that UNTAET and its partners are given sufficient resources so that they can complete the task given to them by this Council. We therefore urge the members of the Security Council and other donor countries to continue their support for East Timor during the transition and throughout the post-independence period.

Finally, let me reiterate that in order to ensure a sustainable peace and the establishment of vital institutions, it is of crucial importance that the United Nations remains in East Timor until such institutions have been put on a solid footing. In this regard we look forward to receiving the Secretary-General's October report with comprehensive recommendations as to the size, composition and mandate of an integrated civilian and military United Nations mission to follow UNTAET.

Mr. Jerandi (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): I would like to thank Mr. Guéhenno for his briefing on the historic developments that took place recently in East Timor.

These first elections in the history of East Timor confirm once again the will of the Timorese people to go forward in laying the foundation for a pluralistic and democratic State. In this regard, my delegation emphasizes with satisfaction the exemplary way in which these elections were held. We would like to recall at this time that the parties committed themselves, when they the signed the Pact for National Unity, to respecting the verdict of this vote. We remind them of this commitment today in order that they should adopt a policy of tolerance and mutual respect.

What is important today is not the success of one party or another, but rather the success of a process that has benefited from the support of the United Nations, its agencies, non-governmental organizations and the international community as a whole. We must continue to lend support, particularly at this crucial stage, as the first constitution of that country is being drawn up, which will lay the foundation for the new East Timorese society, as well as the principles that will further guide it in its subsequent choices.

These elections make it possible for us to move from a Transitional Administration to an independent East Timorese Government. It will probably have to face a number of problems and challenges that it will have to meet in order to govern the country in a viable way and promote a climate favourable to development.

A United Nations presence, reinforced by substantial international financial assistance, will therefore be essential. We therefore hope to receive further details in the forthcoming report of the Secretary-General on the form that the United Nations presence will take in East Timor after independence.

In our view, however, two concepts are of crucial importance. At this and subsequent stages, we must have a strategy for withdrawal and for consolidating peace. We believe that East Timor must initially establish relations of good neighbourliness with the countries of the region. We would also like to emphasize the importance of consolidating trust and reconciliation between Indonesia and East Timor. The Indonesian authorities, for their part, have frequently demonstrated their readiness to establish friendly relationships and to set up a machinery for dialogue and concerted action in order to resolve pending questions. We are very grateful to them.

Finally, we would like to congratulate the Under-Secretary-General on the success of the United Nations. We would also like to congratulate Mr. Vieira de Mello, all the men and women of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor and all the volunteers for their efforts throughout this process to guarantee the orderly conduct of these elections, which is so important for the future of the people of East Timor.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): We welcome very much the presence of the Secretary-General at this meeting, which records a significant success of the United Nations. We would like to thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his useful briefing on

the various aspects of the election for the Constituent Assembly in East Timor.

The Council takes up East Timor at a historic moment. The world has witnessed a remarkable election there as it prepares to emerge as the first independent State in the new millennium. I say it is remarkable for the spirit of peace, maturity and tolerance that every individual East Timorese and the political parties have shown throughout the campaign period and during the polls on 30 August. Through a voter turnout as high as 91 per cent, the East Timorese have shown their belief in participatory democracy. Our warmest felicitations therefore go to the people and leadership of East Timor for setting such a glowing example to the world, as the Secretary-General himself described in his statement immediately after the polls were closed.

At the same time, we pay our tribute to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Sergio Vieira de Mello, and to all his colleagues in the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor for their untiring efforts over the last two years in reviving lives and livelihoods and re-establishing the institutions of government. These are critical building blocks towards full independence. Sergio Vieira de Mello is in Dili today for the important election-certification ceremony of the Independent Electoral Commission in East Timor. We hope to have an opportunity to pay a tribute to him in person.

Bangladesh warmly congratulates the East Timor National Liberation Front and its leader, Xanana Gusmão, for their important victory in the election. The securing of 27 per cent of the 88-member Assembly by women candidates is another indicator of the political maturity of the Timorese people.

At this stage, Bangladesh should emphasize two aspects. First, with the election over, it is time that the Council pledge its firm support to the critical second phase of work in East Timor: the establishment of an effective and efficient Government, institutions and a viable and vibrant economic structure.

The presidential statement that the Council will adopt later reiterates the importance of a substantial international presence post-independence, and Bangladesh would underscore the need for a United Nations engagement in East Timor until its job is fully accomplished in the post-independent period.

There was a general consensus in the open briefing of 30 July that United Nations assistance in East Timor will constitute the core of all international assistance in various areas. We hope that the Secretary-General's comprehensive report, due next month on the United Nations presence in post-independent East Timor, will reflect this aspect adequately.

Secondly, the Government of Indonesia extended its cooperation during the critical phase of East Timor's transition towards independence. We highly commend Indonesia and its people for playing a constructive role in that regard. At the same time, we hope that, in the course of Xanana Gusmão's meeting in Jakarta with the Indonesian leadership on Wednesday, the new Indonesian Government will realize the expectation and importance of cooperation with and support to East Timor in its transition to independence.

Miss Durrant (Jamaica): Jamaica joins in welcoming the successful outcome of elections in East Timor. We are pleased that the process was a smooth one, marked by a high turnout of voters and conducted in an atmosphere of calm and order. In this regard, I wish to thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his comprehensive report on the proceedings.

We are heartened to note that the elections received a clean bill of health from the numerous international observers. This was due in no small measure to the people of East Timor and to their demonstrated dedication to creating a viable democracy; to the leadership of the Secretary-General — and in this regard we are pleased that he has joined us; to the work of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) under the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Sergio Vieira de Mello; and to the support received from the international community, including United Nations volunteers and representatives of non-governmental organizations.

It is clear that the wishes of the people of East Timor are reflected in the election results and that the different parties in the Constituent Assembly reflect the views of all sectors of society. The work of the newly elected Constituent Assembly begins at a crucial point in the democratic life of East Timor and we encourage continued cooperation between the newly elected leaders and UNTAET. The work on the constitution is extremely important to the future of East Timor, as it

will provide a foundation, terms of reference and information on rights and responsibilities that will hold society together and guide the actions of the people of East Timor. We wish to stress the importance of finding common ground with regard to the drafting of the constitution and the need for those intimately involved to work in a spirit of cooperation and compromise.

The successful holding of elections in East Timor must encourage the international community to stay the course and to continue to support the East Timorese. It also gives us great hope for the future of East Timor. Work must continue on reconciliation, on the refugee situation in West Timor and on the security situation there, as well as on capacity-building and economic viability. It is clear that the people of East Timor will require the assistance of the international community after independence, and we look forward to the report of the Secretary-General that is due in October and the guidelines that it will provide for the future mandate of the United Nations in East Timor.

Jamaica wishes the people of East Timor well as they prepare for independence.

Mr. Touré (Mali) (*spoke in French*): I, in my turn, would like to thank you, Mr. President, for having organized this morning's meeting, which is devoted to consideration of the outcome of the elections of 30 August 2001 for the first Constituent Assembly in East Timor — a decisive step on the road towards the creation of an independent State. I would also like to thank Under-Secretary-General Jean-Marie Guéhenno for sharing with us the excellent news about the arrangements for and outcome of that historic election, organized by the United Nations. Of course, we would also like to welcome the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, to this important meeting.

It is noteworthy that the first election in the chaotic history of East Timor took place in a spirit of calm and celebration on 30 August 2001, exactly two years after the territory chose independence in a referendum. There can be no doubt today that East Timor has resolutely committed itself to the path of democracy. Indeed, the election of 88 members of the Constituent Assembly of East Timor, who will have three months to draw up a constitution, is a decisive step towards a hard-won freedom. The impressive turnout of 91 per cent is a concrete manifestation of the commitment, maturity and sense of political responsibility of the people of East Timor and their leaders.

The success of the elections that we are celebrating today was due above all to the people of East Timor and their leaders, who have demonstrated an impressive degree of political maturity; to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), which did everything possible to ensure that the elections were free, transparent, peaceful and honest; to the Government of Indonesia, whose cooperation should be welcomed; and, of course, to the entire international community, whose political and financial support for East Timor has remained steadfast since 1999.

My delegation would like to pay a warm tribute to the people of East Timor for its huge turnout in the election on 30 August and to the leaders of the political parties who decided to respect the results of the election and behaved in a peaceful and mutually respectful manner during the course of the election.

We would also like to express our full satisfaction with the enormously important role played by UNTAET, which enabled the inclusive election in East Timor to be organized and held in good order. We would also like to reaffirm Mali's firm support for the remarkable work done by UNTAET, under the effective leadership of Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, in helping to achieve independence for East Timor, the Timorization of the Administration and the foundation of an independent Government in East Timor.

In conclusion, my delegation is looking forward to the October report of the Secretary-General, in which he will outline the new mission to succeed UNTAET. There can be no doubt that East Timor will still need the assistance of the international community after it attains national sovereignty, and the international community must shoulder its responsibilities with regard to the emerging democracy in East Timor.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I, too, would like to thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his very detailed report and to add my voice to the unanimous expressions of satisfaction at this important event, of which our Organization can be proud and pleased. It reflects well on, among others, our Secretary-General, who is honouring us today with his presence.

While it can be said that there were some concerns and genuine fears at the possibility of political violence, we are truly delighted to be able to note that the democratic process took place peacefully and without violence. The Timorese managed to overcome the ghosts of the past associated with the violence that followed the popular consultation held two years ago. This shows that the Pact of National Unity is being complied with.

We would also like to join those who have congratulated the people of East Timor for the massive and unprecedented voter turnout of over 90 per cent of registered voters participated. We would like to congratulate Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello; Mr. Carlos Valenzuela, head of the Independent Electoral Commission of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET); to all the personnel of UNTAET; and to the volunteers for their organization of and active participation in this important event.

A crucial exercise will take place on 15 September, when the Constituent Assembly will begin work on drafting a new constitution. It will have 90 days in which to do so. Although the East Timor National Liberation Front won a clear majority, it was not a decisive one. We hope that, as announced, it will be able to join forces with representatives of minority parties in order to craft a constitution that will identify and support the needs of all Timorese.

We support Mr. Vieira de Mello's proposal to create a new transitional Government that will have an all-Timorese ministerial cabinet. As we affirmed earlier, the election of the Constituent Assembly is a new step on the road towards national reconciliation. It is indispensable, however, for the truth and reconciliation commission to be set up. In order to secure the viability of the future State, the international community must continue to support that process. We therefore hope that, in October, when we receive a detailed report on UNTAET's proposals, it will be possible to define how to maintain a United Nations presence during the post-independence phase.

Finally, we would like to express our support for the contents of the presidential statement to be adopted later.

Mr. Gokool (Mauritius): My delegation joins other delegations in thanking the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Guéhenno, for his informative briefing on the elections in East Timor. Indeed, the Constitutional Assembly elections held on 30 August, with a high level of popular participation in the vote, are indeed a glowing example to the world community.

My delegation commends the exemplary behaviour and maturity of the East Timorese people in this regard. The indomitable drive for self-rule and their strong desire to lead the country to independence have today borne their fruit. They are now only a step away from attaining nationhood, which is a legitimate expectation cherished by all and which will be concretized in the very near future. We also note with appreciation the election of 23 women.

My delegation expresses its appreciation to the people of East Timor, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), and all the parties and international agencies who have left no stone unturned in making the election a resounding success.

At this juncture, there is no doubt that East Timor is moving forward to achieve its historical course. My delegation extends its very best wishes and reconfirms its support for the consolidation of the gains of the first democratic elections. At the same time, we should not, as a main party committed to the peace process in East Timor, be complacent. Our responsibility is now to see how we can expedite the constitutional process that would give the people of East Timor a constitution reflecting their legitimate aspirations and objectives and guaranteeing all rights and fundamental freedoms without any discrimination. We are sure that an all-inclusive approach, with the voluntary return of the refugees, will further consolidate fraternity and will help in the nation-building in East Timor.

We commend the invitation extended to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General by the Indonesian President and Indonesia's congratulatory message to UNTAET and to the people of East Timor on the successful and peacefui election. Indeed, it augurs well for fruitful bilateral relations between the two countries. Like everyone else, we maintain that a solid bilateral relation based on mutual confidence and pragmatism will help East Timor through its reconstruction programme and will enhance regional cooperation.

Finally, on the question of international presence in East Timor, we agree on the concept of right-sizing.

In this regard, we support the draft presidential statement calling for a substantial international presence in East Timor after independence.

Mr. Kuchinsky (Ukraine): I would like to join others in welcoming the Secretary-General's presence at this important meeting of the Security Council, which marks a significant achievement of the United Nations. I wish to thank the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Guéhenno, for his comprehensive briefing. We are glad to hear the good news today.

We welcome the successful holding on 30 August of the elections for the Constituent Assembly in a democratic and transparent manner. We highly appreciate the relevant activities of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and the Transitional Cabinet, as well as the restraint and patience exercised by all political parties. We also note with satisfaction the cooperation shown by the Government of Indonesia.

We believe it is extremely important to avoid confrontation within East Timorese society after the elections. We are of the opinion that this should remain one of the priorities for UNTAET. It is also essential to ensure the smooth formation of the Constituent Assembly and the new Cabinet, and to maintain a peaceful environment for the debate over the first constitution of East Timor.

Taking into account the shortage of adequate qualifications among the East Timorese, UNTAET, in our view, should pay special attention to providing relevant assistance to the citizens who were elected to the Assembly, preparing them for good governance and for the creation of a new civilized democratic society in this territory, which has suffered so much and which has never experienced democracy. The drafting of the constitution will also require the assistance of the international community.

We consider that the election of 30 August became an extraordinary event on the way to the independence of East Timor. At the same time, we are aware that a great deal remains to be done to achieve independence, and it will continue to require international support and United Nations leadership and participation. Ukraine is ready to continue to support the efforts of UNTAET towards the practical implementation of the aspirations of the people of East Timor.

Finally, we would like to voice our full support for the presidential statement on the issue.

Mr. Chen Xu (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): We also welcome the presence of the Secretary-General at this very important meeting. We thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his important briefing, as do the other members of the Council, concerning the successful holding of elections for the Constituent Assembly. We wish to express our gratification.

This is a very important step in the independence process for East Timor. It will also establish solid foundations for peace, stability, prosperity in East Timor after independence. We appreciate the efforts made by the East Timorese leaders and congratulate the East Timorese people for their participation in the election and for the spirit they have demonstrated.

We wish to congratulate the elected members of the Assembly. We appreciate the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) under the leadership of Mr. Vieira de Mello for the great amount of work they have done towards the successful holding of the elections. We also appreciate the efforts made by the Government of Indonesia for the election.

Mr. Guéhenno mentioned in his briefing that after elections there will be a great amount of work to do. We believe that the members of the Constituent Assembly will shoulder the responsibilities entrusted to them and show themselves worthy of the trust placed in them by the East Timorese people. We call upon the international community to continue to provide the necessary assistance to the East Timorese people. The Chinese delegation supports maintaining a substantial international presence in East Timor after independence.

We are looking forward to the Secretary-General's report due in October, which will outline concrete recommendations in this area. Finally, we support the presidential statement to be adopted at the conclusion of this meeting.

Mr. Yap (Singapore): We welcome the Secretary-General's presence at this meeting. It shows the importance that he and the United Nations attach to East Timor. We would also like to thank Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his detailed and comprehensive briefing.

We are pleased to note that the Constituent Assembly elections were a smooth and peaceful affair, as we had hoped. It was also heartening to us that there was such a large turnout at the polls. These are encouraging signs for East Timor's democratic transition.

The people of East Timor must be congratulated. Also, the United Nations and the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) must be commended for the good work they are doing in East Timor, which has been valuable in East Timor's transition.

The election results show that no political party has an outright, controlling two-thirds majority in the Constituent Assembly. There were also sharp differences in the voting in the various districts. Therefore, as the Constituent Assembly and the new Cabinet are being formed and the constitution is being worked out, we urge continued concord and tolerance among the political parties and the East Timorese people. The strong support of the political parties and the population for the Pact of National Unity must continue.

It cannot be overemphasized that the potential for instability and a certain level of vulnerability remain even after the elections. The elections, therefore, should not signal the end of UNTAET and the United Nations considerable engagement in East Timor. On the contrary, the United Nations must continue to keep vigilant watch over East Timor. It should especially not be making plans for its early exit or substantial withdrawal from East Timor at this juncture. Besides potentially unravelling all the good that the United Nations has done in East Timor, this could also send the wrong signal to the East Timorese people. The United Nations should instead studiously work out how it can and should prevent worse-case scenarios from happening. The key to this is a continued, substantial United Nations and international presence in East Timor, even after its independence.

We look forward to the Secretary-General's report on the successor mission to UNTAET post independence and we fully support the presidential statement to be adopted at the conclusion of this meeting.

The President (*spoke in French*): I shall now say a few words in my capacity as representative of France.

In a few minutes, the European Union, speaking through its Presidency, Belgium, will say what the 15 members of the Union feel today. I join with the previous speakers in congratulating the two first winners of this exemplary election. First of all, the Timorese themselves have displayed their political maturity, which is all the more remarkable in that this is only the second election held in 25 years.

I would also like to congratulate the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), under the remarkable, inspired leadership of Sergio Vieira de Mello, as well as the person responsible for the electoral process, Carlos Valenzuela. When we think about the violence that occurred in the wake of the referendum on self-determination only two years ago, we can fully grasp the magnitude of the advances.

Another very positive element has been Indonesia's response, which augurs well for the relationship that will develop between the two States once East Timor is fully independent.

France today congratulates all the elected officials and wishes them every success in the crucial task that lies before them. They will have to lay the constitutional foundations on which democracy in East Timor can be built in a lasting manner.

Next month, on the basis of the Secretary-General's report, we will have to join forces to define the way in which the international presence should evolve in order to best prepare for and accompany East Timor's independence. France wishes to emphasize from this day on its conviction that, in a manner that will obviously be different, international support will continue to be necessary if the soon-to-be independent East Timorese people is to benefit not only from independence, but also from the social and economic development to which it has been aspiring for so long.

Today is a day for celebration. Let us all celebrate together the remarkable success and clear round that the United Nations has just scored.

I now resume my responsibilities as President of the Council. I shall give the floor to the speakers who are not members of the Council and who have expressed the wish to speak.

The first speaker is the representative of Belgium. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. De Loecker (Belgium) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The countries of Central and Eastern Europe associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia — and the associated countries Cyprus, Malta and Turkey, as well as the member of the European Economic Space, Liechtenstein, associate themselves with this statement.

The European Union would like to thank the Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Guéhenno, for having officially confirmed the result of the election of 30 August. We have met today to welcome this moment, which has often, and with reason, been described as historic.

Ten days ago the East Timorese people took part in democratic elections with great wisdom and serenity. The European Union observer mission on the ground reported that the elections to the Constituent Assembly took place calmly and peacefully. We would like to congratulate the East Timorese people and their leaders for having successfully completed this first, but crucial, step on the road to the establishment of democratic political institutions in the future Timorese State. The long independence process, which the European Union fully supports, has today brought its reward.

We welcome particularly the significant representation of women in the Constituent Assembly. The European Union would also like to congratulate the United Nations, whose Transitional Administration has made possible the success of the electoral process, for which they prepared with great professionalism.

The popular will freely expressed during these elections must be followed by the representatives of the Constituent Assembly during the three months granted to them to discuss and draft the constitution of the future State of East Timor. We wish them much success in performing this important task.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker on my list is the representative of Australia. I invite him take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Dauth (Australia): I will be very brief, but it would be wrong for Australia not to today join with others in thanking Mr. Guéhenno and his team for the excellent report they provided us with and in welcoming very warmly the successful staging of the elections for East Timor's first Constituent Assembly. We want also to associate ourselves with others in congratulating very warmly my friend Sergio Vieira de Mello and his entire team at the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and all of those who were responsible for ensuring that the election process was peaceful, transparent and fair. We, too, would like to join others in warmly congratulating Indonesia for the highly constructive role that it has played before, during and after the elections. Above all, we pay tribute to the people of East Timor, whose overwhelming participation in the election process demonstrated yet again their shared determination to move towards an independent and democratic future.

The establishment of a multi-party Constituent Assembly in the coming weeks marks, of course, the beginning of a new phase in the transition to independence and we wish them well in their important immediate task in drafting a Constitution for the new State. The broad representation of parties in the Constituent Assembly should help in this process and we, like others, are particularly encouraged by the commendable presence their of 23 women.

Australia is, of course, a close and supportive neighbour of East Timor and we will continue to cooperate closely with its people, their elected representatives and the Timorese Cabinet as they work through the coming phase of the transition.

Finally, may I say how much we look forward to working with the Council in the coming months as it begins to address the key decisions which will determine the future United Nations presence in East Timor and the assistance it will offer to the independent East Timorese Government. Strong ongoing support from the Council through the provision of a sound funding base and through sound strategic planning will be critical to ensuring a peaceful and sustainable outcome in that new country.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker is the Ambassador of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Satoh (Japan): I would like to express my appreciation to you, Mr. President, for convening this open meeting on this very important day in the history of East Timor.

First of all, we welcome the fact that the elections on 30 August for the Constituent Assembly in East Timor were conducted in a peaceful and orderly manner. The very high turnout is a clear testimony to the East Timorese people's determination to participate in the nation-building process. It is also the result of the strenuous efforts made by the Independent Electoral Commission, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The Japanese Government pays high tribute to all those organizations which have contributed to the success of the elections.

Recognizing the importance of the elections, Japan dispatched a team of electoral observers and provided financial support amounting to $1.2 million through UNDP electoral assistance projects.

Now that the elections have been successfully held, we would like to urge all parties to fully respect the results and to unite towards nation-building. It is particularly important that the new Constituent Assembly work on the drafting of the constitution in a balanced, inclusive and cooperative manner, for the purpose of their work is to create the very foundation of nation-building in East Timor. Needless to say, the way the Constituent Assembly discharges its responsibility will have a defining impact on the future governance of the country.

The forthcoming formation of the Timorese Transitional Government will be an important step towards self-governance, but we have to acknowledge that there will remain certain areas where UNTAET must continue its activities in accordance with the mandate entrusted to it by the Security Council. Close cooperation between UNTAET and the Timorese Government will therefore be essential to attain the orderly transition to independence.

The planning for a follow-on mission of UNTAET is another important issue which the international community must address. In order to make the future process predictable and therefore stable, it is critical for the Security Council to clearly define at an early stage the shape of the follow-on mission, including its function, composition, required financial resources, necessary procedures and time-frame, taking into account the needs and security conditions on the ground in East Timor and, indeed, the wishes of the Timorese people.

In light of what we see on the island, we strongly believe that the United Nations should continue its military and civilian police presence, as well as a minimum and indispensable civilian personnel presence. We hope that the Secretary-General will carefully examine such needs as he compiles his recommendations to submit to the United Nations membership in October.

The successful elections are truly a cause for celebration for everybody involved, but the elections are only one step, albeit a major one, towards the achievement of an independent East Timor. Many more difficult issues will have to be addressed by the Timorese people, as well as by the international community, in order to ensure the successful attainment of independence for that island nation.

External support and assistance will be essential for nation-building not only before, but also after independence. I would therefore like to conclude this statement by reaffirming the Japanese Government's commitment to supporting East Timor as it engages itself in nation-building in the years to come.

The President (*spoke in French*): The next speaker is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Seixas da Costa (Portugal): Let me start by thanking you, Sir, for convening this meeting. I also want to thank Under-Secretary-General Jean-Marie Guéhenno for his briefing on the outcome of the election for the Constituent Assembly in East Timor.

Previous interventions have already highlighted the importance of the elections as a milestone in the overall transition of East Timor to independence and in the setting-up of democratic institutions in the new country.

We must congratulate the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) and its entire staff, in particular Mr. Sergio Vieira de Mello, for a job very well done. Overcoming that further challenge on the way to independence was possible due only to the commitment of all the staff on the ground, as well as to the support of the international community as a whole. Portugal is proud to be one of the major contributors to this effort.

My country participated in the observer missions of the European Union and the Community of

Portuguese-Speaking Countries to the elections of 30 August. We fully associate ourselves with the statements that both organizations have made in this regard, in particular, with the statement just made by the Presidency of the European Union to the Council.

We also sent a national team of both government and civil society representatives to observe the elections in all 13 districts. We welcome the peaceful and generally orderly manner in which the election took place. We have every reason to believe that this was a free, fair and transparent exercise.

Today, we must, above all, pay tribute to the people of East Timor and their political parties. Once again, they demonstrated incredible political maturity and tolerance. For their behaviour during the electoral campaign and for the high voter turnout on election day, they deserve our respect and our confidence.

We trust that all the political parties will accept the results of the ballot and the will of the people expressed therein. In this regard, Portugal welcomes statements by different political parties reiterating their commitment to peaceful implementation of the results, as well as the statements by the winning party that it is ready to engage in an all-inclusive Cabinet. We hope that the work of the Constituent Assembly will reflect the spirit of cooperation and national unity. I cannot fail to underline that the East Timorese elected 23 women to the Constituent Assembly, 27 per cent of the total number of deputies.

We have come a long way since the troubled times of September 1999. Today, the situation in East Timor has developed in a way that most of us did not think possible when UNTAET was created. The same effort that the international community made in East Timor at that time must now be continued during the transition to independence and beyond. The Timorese expect as much and deserve no less.

As always, Portugal is committed to remaining at the forefront of these efforts.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now call on the last speaker on my list, the representative of New Zealand. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Hughes (New Zealand): Thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity to speak today. May we also express our thanks to Under-Secretary-General Guéhenno for his excellent briefing this morning on the result of the election in East Timor.

It is indeed with great pleasure that we join with others who have spoken earlier in warmly congratulating the people of East Timor on the successful completion of their first democratic elections. The high voter turnout and the peaceful and tolerant environment in which votes were cast are evidence of the commitment of the East Timorese people to the process towards independence. We look forward to the announcement of the inaugural meeting of the East Timorese Constituent Assembly as an important step towards that goal.

We also extend our congratulations to the United Nations on the smooth arrangements for the election, which, in our view, establishes a new benchmark for future United Nations missions. The New Zealand observer team's report adds to the international consensus that the ballot was free, fair and credible. The international community and the people of East Timor should have great confidence in the integrity of the election outcome.

The conduct and successful staging of these elections also provides an excellent basis for the planning of the successor mission to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET). New Zealand has previously stated its strong belief that the United Nations must equip East Timor to take full responsibility for its own affairs.

We continue to be convinced that the Security Council must remain focused and committed to maintaining a United Nations military, police and civilian presence in East Timor until such time as the new country has established a truly self-sustaining administration and the security situation is no longer of concern. We look forward, therefore, to the Secretary-General's report due next month, which will recommend the size, shape and timetable for the successor mission to UNTAET.

The President (*spoke in French*): There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 12.25 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4368

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4368th meeting

Monday, 10 September 2001, 12.25 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Levitte	(France)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	Ireland	Mr. Ryan
	Jamaica	Mr. Ward
	Mali	Mr. Touré
	Mauritius	Mr. Gokool
	Norway	Mr. Gram-Johannessen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Yap
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Krokhmal
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Rosenblatt

Agenda

The situation in East Timor.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-53177 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.25 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in East Timor

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council recalls its previous resolutions and the statements of its President on the situation in East Timor.

"The Security Council warmly welcomes the successful staging on 30 August 2001 of the elections for East Timor's first Constituent Assembly, in particular the orderly and peaceful conduct of the elections and the very high voter turnout, which demonstrated the wish of the East Timorese people to establish a full participatory democracy. In that regard, the Council recognizes with appreciation the important role of the East Timorese leadership and welcomes the cooperation extended by the Government of Indonesia during the election period.

"The Security Council expresses its appreciation to the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor for facilitating a smooth and representative election process. The Security Council calls on all parties to fully respect and implement the election results, which provide the basis for a broad-based Constituent Assembly. The Security Council looks forward to the establishment on 15 September of the Constituent Assembly and the new Cabinet within the framework of resolution 1272 (1999). The Security Council calls upon all parties to work together to draft a constitution which reflects the will of the East Timorese people and to cooperate for the successful completion of the final steps towards independence, in a complex process of stabilization in East Timor, which will take some time and will involve many actors.

"The Security Council reiterates the importance of a substantial international presence in East Timor post-independence.

"The Security Council looks forward to receiving the Secretary-General's October report focusing on the transition and post-independence periods."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2001/23.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4369

Security Council

Distr.: General
10 September 2001

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4369th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private in the Economic and Social Council Chamber at Headquarters on Monday, 10 September 2001, at 4 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 10 September 2001, the Security Council, pursuant to Annex II, Section A of resolution 1353 (2001), held its 4369th meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

"The Security Council and the troop-contributing countries heard a briefing under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Legwaila Joseph Legwaila, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea.

"The members of the Council had a constructive exchange of views with representatives of participating troop-contributing countries.

"Mr. Legwaila and Mr. Hédi Annabi, Assistant Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, responded to the comments and questions posed by members of the Council and representatives of troop-contributing countries."

01-53316 (E) 100901

United Nations S/PV.4370

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4370th meeting

Wednesday, 12 September 2001, 12 noon
New York

President:	Mr. Levitte	(France)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Ahsan
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	Ireland	Mr. Ryan
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Keita
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Mejdoub
	Ukraine	Mr. Kuchinsky
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-53370 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12 noon.

Tribute

The President (*spoke in French*): At the very outset, on behalf of the entire Security Council, I wish to convey to the representative of the United States, Ambassador Jim Cunningham, and to the entire United States delegation our feelings of distress and deep solidarity and our condolences on behalf of all members of the Council.

I now invite members of the Council and all those present in the Chamber to observe a minute of silence in memory of all the victims of the terrorist acts that struck New York and the United States yesterday.

The members of the Security Council observed a minute of silence.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them a draft resolution, contained in document S/2001/861, which has been prepared in the course of prior consultations.

Members of the Council who wish to speak are invited to so inform the Secretariat. I would point out to the many delegations present that are not members of the Council that, in the course of consultations, in view of the fact that the General Assembly will hold a meeting on the same subject this afternoon at 3 p.m., it was deemed preferable to limit the list of speakers to the 15 members of the Council. However, those delegations wishing to have their planned statements included in the official records of the Council are urged to transmit those statements to the Secretariat so that they might be fully reflected in the official record.

I thank the Secretary-General for his presence here today and invite him to make his statement.

The Secretary-General: We meet, as you have said, Sir, in exceptionally grave circumstances. Our host country and this host city have been subjected to a terrorist attack which horrifies us all. We do not yet know the full extent of the damage, but it seems certain that thousands of people have lost their lives and that many have suffered dreadful injuries.

All of us feel deep shock and revulsion at the cold-blooded viciousness of this attack. All of us condemn it and those who planned it — whoever they may be — in the strongest possible terms. All of us, I am sure, extend our most profound sympathy to the victims, to their loved ones and to the people and Government of the United States.

More than that, we must express our solidarity with the American Government and people in this hour of trial.

Terrorism is an international scourge which the United Nations has many times condemned. A terrorist attack on one country is an attack on humanity as a whole. All nations of the world must work together to identify the perpetrators and bring them to justice.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): Yesterday's events took us to a place beyond our imagining. The United Kingdom is united in deep shock and sympathy for the people of the United States and in the determination to eradicate terrorism globally, in cooperation with and in support of the United States. Her Majesty the Queen expressed to President Bush yesterday, on behalf of the British people, her heartfelt sympathy for the very many bereaved and injured and her admiration for those — let us remember this — who are now trying to cope with the unfolding tragedy of what has happened.

The international spirit of response, I think, was also exemplified by the European Union in a meeting of ministers this morning, who said that these horrendous acts are an attack not only on the United States, but against humanity itself and the values and freedoms we all share. But the life and work of our open and democratic societies will continue undeterred. My Prime Minister has expressed similar sentiments and calls us to understand that mass terrorism is the new evil in our world today, perpetrated by fanatics who are utterly indifferent to the sanctity of human life.

We support the substance of the draft resolution that the Council is to consider. We all have to understand that this is a global issue, an attack on the whole of modern civilization and an affront to the human spirit. We must all respond globally and show the strength of that spirit.

Mr. Koonjul (Mauritius): My delegation is profoundly shocked by yesterday's traumatic events, the impact and magnitude of which are yet to be felt and fully assessed. On behalf of the Government of Mauritius and its people, I wish to convey our deepest sympathies and condolences to the Government and people of the United States of America and, more particularly, to the families of the victims.

We unreservedly condemn in the strongest terms the inhuman and barbaric terrorist acts that have taken the lives of thousands of innocent victims, including women and children, and which have caused considerable material damage. We are confident that the people of America will rise up to the challenges and overcome the sufferings and atrocities they have just experienced.

The people of America have once again shown their exemplary resilience in such tragic circumstances. These attacks, while targeting the United States, are aimed at democracy and the free world. All of us who believe in the cardinal values of democracy stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the American people in the struggle to preserve peace and the rule of law.

The perpetration of such cowardly acts clearly demonstrates that no country, no matter how prepared it may be, is immune to terrorist attacks. Yesterday's acts once again confirm that terrorism knows no bounds or boundaries. Indeed, terrorism represents a major threat to international peace and security. We believe that this issue should be addressed in a comprehensive manner, in the framework of international cooperation. In that regard, we would support the idea of holding a special Security Council summit to discuss ways and means of combating terrorism in all its forms and proportions.

Like other delegations, Mauritius stands ready to cooperate with the United States and the international community to find the perpetrators of yesterday's acts and bring them to justice.

Mr. Keita (Mali) (*spoke in French*): On behalf of the Government and people of Mali, I would first of all like to convey to the people and Government of the United States of America our deepest condolences and sympathies on the tragic events that took place in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania on Tuesday, 11 September 2001. I also join with the President of the Security Council in extending the condolences of the delegation of Mali to the delegation of the United States.

Mali firmly condemns those barbarous attacks, which no cause could justify. We hope for the speedy recovery of the many persons injured, and we pray for the repose of the souls of those who have lost their lives in these attacks. Mali stands in solidarity with the American people and with any decision to be taken by the Security Council in this regard.

Mr. Kuchinsky (Ukraine): We are very grateful to you, Mr. President, for convening this urgent meeting of the Security Council. What happened yesterday is a terrible catastrophe. It is a tragic loss for the American people. We admire the bravery and tenacity of firefighters, policemen and the whole American nation.

I wish to use this opportunity to quote a statement made by our Minister for Foreign Affairs that conveys the essence of Ukraine's reaction to yesterday's events in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania.

> "The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine expresses its deepest indignation at the unprecedented outbreak of terrorist acts committed on 11 September in the United States. This crime, directed primarily against civilians, is a direct challenge not only to the United States, but to the entire civilized world. Whoever is behind this tragedy have put themselves beyond the laws of human civilization and deserve a just and inevitable punishment. In this dramatic hour, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine expresses its sincere condolences to the families and friends of the victims of this malicious and barbaric act.
>
> "The shocking events in the United States once again speak for the need to join the efforts of the whole international community in the fight against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations."

The magnitude of yesterday's acts goes beyond terrorism as we have known it so far. With the new

technologies and the changed nature of the world in which they operate, a handful of angry Samsons and disciples of apocalypse would suffice to cause havoc. We therefore think that new definitions, terms and strategies have to be developed for the new realities.

I want to propose declaring the tragic day of 11 September as an international day to combat terrorism.

Finally, I believe it would be worthwhile to consider convening a ministerial meeting of the Council — possibly in the nearest future; maybe in the week of 24 September — to discuss our response to international terrorism.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): You have asked us to be brief, Mr. President. We will be brief, but we hope that the brevity of our statement is not in any way taken as an indication of the depth of the shock, horror and outrage that we feel about yesterday's developments.

By any standards, what happened yesterday was a great tragedy. We join our colleagues in conveying our deepest condolences to the victims and their families and to the people and Government of the United States of America. Both the President and the Prime Minister of Singapore have conveyed the condolences of Singapore to President George W. Bush.

We also join others in strongly condemning these acts of terrorism. We have consistently taken the position that terrorism anywhere should not be condoned for any reason whatever.

What happened yesterday also demonstrates clearly that the international community has to come together to react to such terrorism. Several proposals have been tabled this morning for a stronger international response. We support all these responses, and we hope that the Security Council will come together and deliver a very effective response to ensure that the events of yesterday are not repeated.

We also join our colleagues in supporting the draft resolution before us.

Mr. Mejdoub (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): Allow me first of all, on this tragic day, to express my country's deep sympathies to the United States, an old friend of Tunisia's for over 200 years. President Ben Ali has conveyed his condolences to President Bush and has stated Tunisia's categorical condemnation of these acts.

We extend our compassion and solidarity to Ambassador Jim Cunningham, the delegation of the United States and the grieving American nation. We extend our deepest condolences to the countless families that are being so sorely tested at this time. We share their deep emotion and grief.

Yesterday's tragedy is an unacceptable crime, one which has afflicted innocent people. No civilization condones, and no cause whatever can justify, the odious crime perpetrated in three cities of this country on Tuesday, 11 September, just as the United Nations was preparing to ring the Peace Bell for the new millennium commencing this year. Taking place on the very day of the opening of the General Assembly, this brutal and malicious attack is both an outrage and a challenge to the entire international community.

We therefore condemn in the most forceful way the authors of this tragedy, both the perpetrators themselves and those who ordered it. It is time for all societies of the international community to root out this madness and to cooperate on both preventing and combating terrorism and organized crime.

In the light of dreadful events such as this, if we want to succeed, we must act together. We will be stronger if we are all united — a family united in a spirit of solidarity.

Mr. Ryan (Ireland): We witnessed yesterday in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania an attack of barbarism and evil against innocent people. As the Secretary-General has just said, this was an attack on all humanity and the values of humanity. Every nation and every human being can only be affronted in the face of such evil.

On behalf of the Irish Government and people, I extend to the Government and people of the United States our deep and heartfelt sympathy. Ireland's Prime Minister, Mr. Bertie Ahern, said yesterday that our thoughts, above all else, are now with the families of all the victims in their mourning and loss. The Council of Ministers of the European Union, in a special session today, has expressed its horror at yesterday's terrorist attacks and its solidarity with the United States.

Europeans have been asked to mark this horrific event on Friday next; we in Ireland will also do so. Practically every village in Ireland is bonded as family with the American people. Our heart and prayers go to

those now heroically working — the police, the fire crews, the emergency services, doctors and nurses — to help the injured and save life.

The American people should know that they are not alone in their grief and revulsion at what has happened. They are joined by decent men and women in every part of the world, from every cultural background, by people of every religion and of none. Respect for the human rights of each and every person, for the right of every nation and every human being to live in freedom and dignity: these are fundamental principles for the United Nations. It is these values that the perpetrators of yesterday's crimes seek to destroy.

In our sorrow and loss, it is also right today to clearly assert that from evil can only come evil; that no cause that is based on mass murder and carnage can ever succeed; that those who perpetrate such deeds are the enemies of all peoples everywhere. Those responsible for yesterday's barbarism are the enemies of peace and justice. They must be brought to justice and the entire international community must work together towards this end. Here in the United Nations, it is right to say today, in mourning and in sadness, but with absolute conviction and determination, that they will not be allowed to succeed in seeking to destroy the goals and vision that the United Nations shares with all the peoples of the world.

Ireland supports fully the draft resolution before the Security Council.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): We are deeply shocked by and strongly condemn yesterday's serious terrorist attacks against New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania. China's President Jiang Zemin and Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan have addressed messages to President Bush and Secretary of State Powell, expressing profound sympathy to the Government and the people of the United States of America and deep condolences to the families of the victims.

Yesterday, Secretary-General Annan and the President of the Security Council, Ambassador Levitte, issued statements that we fully support. International terrorism causes tremendous losses to the lives and property of innocent civilians and seriously endangers human society and the political and economic order of countries. It is a serious potential danger to international peace and security. The Chinese Government always condemns and opposes all terrorist violence. Yesterday's terrorist attacks, which stunned the world, took place in the United States, but they also represent an open challenge to the international community as a whole.

We support the United Nations in strengthening its work in preventing and combating terrorism. We are in favour of the ongoing enhancement of cooperation among Member States through the practical implementation of the relevant international conventions against terrorism and by bringing terrorist criminals to justice. As the organ with the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security, the Security Council should also play a leading role in that respect.

Mr. Lavrov (Russia) (*spoke in Russian*): The United States has come up against an unprecedented act of aggression of international terrorism. On behalf of the Russian leadership, we would like to express our most sincere and deepest condolences to all of the victims and to the people and Government of the United States of America.

Yesterday's events in the United States transcends national borders. It is a brazen challenge to all of humankind. What took place on 11 September once again highlights the timeliness of the task of joining the efforts of the entire international community in combating terror, this plague of the twenty-first century. This task was set forth in Security Council resolution 1269 (1999), which was unanimously adopted at the initiative of Russia.

Yesterday's statement by the Council and the draft resolution we are adopting today demonstrate unconditionally the resolve of Council members to do all they can to leave not one terrorist act unpunished and to increase efforts to prevent and end terrorism.

In a statement of 11 September, President Vladimir Putin said:

> "Russia knows very well what terror is and so we understand better than most the feelings of the American people. On behalf of Russia, I turn to the people of the United States of America. I would like to say that we are with you, we are in full solidarity with your feelings of grief and we support you."

Miss Durrant (Jamaica): We meet in the Security Council today at a time when the will of the international community is being severely tested. The

horrible acts of terrorism perpetrated yesterday on American soil have plunged our entire world into an unprecedented period of peril, fear and uncertainty. Jamaica roundly condemns these dastardly acts. We share the shock, grief and anger of the Government and people of the United States of America, who have suffered untold casualties and enormous material damage from these highly coordinated terrorist attacks.

The masterminds and those found to be in collusion must be brought to justice. The global community must demonstrate a solid front in our struggle to defeat international terrorism. We believe that the most effective response continues to be full cooperation at the international level, as terrorism poses a serious threat to the peace and stability of nations and to the well-being of all our citizens.

On behalf of the Government and people of Jamaica, I wish to convey our sincere condolences and deepest sympathy to the Government and people of the United States of America and, in particular, to those who lost their loved ones or who were injured as a result of yesterday's heinous acts.

Jamaica's Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. P. J. Patterson, has already conveyed these sentiments to President George Bush on behalf of the Government and people of Jamaica. Today's meeting undoubtedly serves as an important opportunity for the Security Council to reaffirm its condemnation of terrorism, and we wish to express our strong support for the draft resolution that has been placed before us for adoption. We also support the call for the issue of terrorism to be addressed once again by the Council — this time at the highest level — in the near future.

Mr. Ahsan (Bangladesh): The Government and the people of Bangladesh are shocked at the despicable, cowardly acts of terrorism committed yesterday in New York, Washington, D.C., and Pennsylvania. We are overwhelmed by the enormous toll in innocent human lives, destruction and damage in cities that these horrific attacks have taken. The Government of Bangladesh has condemned these attacks in the strongest terms in a statement released yesterday. On behalf on my Government, I express our deep condolences to the bereaved families and our sympathy for those affected by this catastrophe.

These attacks represent an affront to humanity and a challenge to the international community. We must collectively face this challenge. Bangladesh reiterates its full support to international efforts in combating all acts of terrorism. My delegation fully endorses the resolution before us.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): On behalf of the Norwegian people and Government, I would like to express my deepest condolences to the President, the Government and the people of the United States of America. Many lives were lost in yesterday's senseless and cowardly acts against innocent people. Our thoughts and prayers are with all citizens of this country, and I would like to assure the United States that Norway stands ready, both as a member of the community of nations and as a close friend and ally, to assist you in every way possible.

Yesterday's attacks were not only directed against targets in the United States, but against freedom and democracy itself. The shameless terror was an effort to undermine the values that constitute the very foundations of the civilized world. The attacks were therefore directed against all of us.

President Bush has made it clear that the United States will ensure that the perpetrators of these horrific attacks will be pursued and will face the full might of the law.

It is important that a unified Security Council now take appropriate steps. This Council was established to defend these values and must show that it is ready to support efforts to do just that.

11 September 2001 is a day that will live in history — not because terrorists managed to shake the foundations of democracy, but because it was once again proved that democracy and freedom will prevail against all evil. Countless people among the members of the New York police and fire departments and rescue workers here in the city and in Washington, D.C. and Pennsylvania proved themselves to be true heroes. We are grateful to them all, and we all feel like true New Yorkers today.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): I should like to extend to the delegation of the United States our deepest sympathy and solidarity on the tragedy that occurred yesterday. We share with the delegation of the United States and its Government the conviction that this is an attack not only against this country but also against the community of civilized peoples, the values of humanity and a future of peace.

I should like to echo the words of the statement made yesterday by the Government of Colombia condemning and rejecting these cowardly attacks. Nothing can justify thousands of innocent victims paying with their lives for the intolerance and hatred of a group of extremists.

Let me say also that on the initiative of Colombia, just yesterday in Lima the annual meeting of the Organization of American States adopted a vigorous condemnation of terrorist attacks and expressed the need to strengthen hemispheric cooperation to combat this scourge, which yesterday shook the entire world and the community of nations of the Western hemisphere.

I wish to propose a thought on the regular activities of both the Security Council and the United Nations in general in light of the terrorist acts of yesterday. It should be our understanding that anything that means unnecessarily interrupting our regular work will be a victory for those criminals who organized the barbarous acts of yesterday that bring us to meet today. It is a reality that additional security measures are needed both in New York and at facilities where the United Nations operates in this city. However, I wish to make an appeal that we respond with greater commitment, with greater presence and with additional effort in our search for the decisions that the international community of nations is expecting, the community that both members and non-members of the Council represent. Thus, we will be giving the best possible response to those who simply cannot prevail.

Finally, may I express my delegation's willingness to participate with all members of the Council in the adoption of immediate measures in keeping with the responsibilities of the Council under the Charter.

The President (*spoke in French*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of France, before giving the floor to the last speaker, Ambassador Cunningham of the United States.

Yesterday, together with the entire population of New York and all the American people, we experienced a day of horror, a day of terror that shall forever leave its mark upon our lives. The scourge of terrorism from which most of our countries have suffered undoubtedly destroyed, on 11 September, thousands of innocent American lives.

Like all of the European Union, whose ministers have just forcefully expressed themselves, France stands side by side with the United States in this time of trial. We convey to all of the victims of the families and to the American people our condolences and express our fraternal solidarity.

In the face of what constitutes an attack upon all of humanity, as the Secretary-General has just said, in the face of an attack against the values and principles that unite us and which our Charter embodies, it is a time for unity and resolve.

All together, we must say that nothing anywhere can ever justify resort to terrorism. All together, we must take the view that the monstrous acts committed yesterday are a challenge to the international community as a whole. Yes, we stand with the United States in deciding upon any appropriate action to combat those who resort to terrorism, those who aid them and those who protect them. A global strategy is needed. The Security Council is the principal organ entrusted with international peace and security. It should work on this in a spirit of urgency.

Mr. Cunningham (United States): I want to thank the Secretary-General, the members of the Council and you, Mr. President, for their kind words, their support and resolve and their condolences to the American people on this dark day. We appreciate the many expressions of concern and support that we have received from around the world. Our thoughts and prayers are with the many who died in the attacks and their families, with the injured and with the many brave fire-department, emergency-services and police personnel here in New York who perished and those who continue to work feverishly even as we speak in response to the attacks.

Last night, President Bush eloquently addressed the nation and the world on yesterday's outrage. As others have noted, this was an assault not just on the United States, but on all of us who support peace and democracy and the values for which the United Nations stands.

The United States has suffered a cowardly and evil attack, but America is not, and will not be, shaken in its resolve. We will grieve, and we will heal.

We look to all those who stand for peace, justice and security in the world to stand together with the United States to win the war against terrorism. We will

make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbour them. We will bring those responsible to account.

Yesterday's horrifying images, burned now into the global memory, serve as a constant reminder to all of the need to stamp out this scourge and of the need for determination and action to do so.

The President (*spoke in French*): It is my understanding that the Council is ready to vote on the draft resolution (S/2001/861) before it. Since we are unanimous in our desire to adopt the draft resolution, I invite members to do so not by raising their hands but by standing, in a show of unity in the face of the scourge of terrorism.

9 *A vote was taken.*

In favour:

Bangladesh, China, Colombia, France, Ireland, Jamaica, Mali, Mauritius, Norway, Russian Federation, Singapore, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1368 (2001).

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4371

Security Council

Distr.: General
13 September 2001

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4371st (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private in the Economic and Social Council Chamber at Headquarters on Thursday, 13 September 2001, at 3.30 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"On 13 September 2001, the Security Council, pursuant to Annex II, Section A of resolution 1353 (2001), held its 4371st meeting in private with the troop-contributing countries to the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone.

"The Security Council and the troop-contributing countries heard a briefing under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by Mr. Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Under-Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.

"The members of the Council had a constructive exchange of views with representatives of participating troop-contributing countries.

"Mr. Guéhenno responded to the comments and questions posed by members of the Council and representatives of troop-contributing countries."

01-53580 (E) 130901

United Nations S/PV.4372

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4372nd meeting

Friday, 14 September 2001, 1.10 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Levitte	(France)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	Ireland	Mr. Ryan
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Konfourou
	Mauritius	Mr. Jingree
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Ms. Lee
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Kulyk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

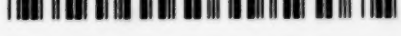
Agenda

The situation between Eritrea and Ethiopia

Report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea (S/2001/843).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-53603 (E)



The meeting was called to order at 1.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation between Eritrea and Ethiopia

Report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea (S/2001/843)

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on Ethiopia and Eritrea (S/2001/843).

Members of the Council also have before them document S/2001/862, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by a show of hands.

In favour:

Bangladesh, China, Colombia, France, Ireland, Jamaica, Mali, Mauritius, Norway, Russian Federation, Singapore, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): The draft resolution received 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1369 (2001).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4373

Security Council

Distr.: General
17 September 2001

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4373rd (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private in the Security Council Chamber at Headquarters on Monday, 17 September 2001, at 3.30 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"At its 4373rd meeting, held in private at 3.30 p.m. on 17 September 2001, the Security Council considered the item entitled "Briefing by His Excellency Nebojša Čović, Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"In accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, the President extended an invitation to His Excellency Mr. Nebojša Čović, Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, the President, with the consent of the Council, extended an invitation under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Hans Haekkerup, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo.

"The members of the Security Council had a constructive interactive discussion with the Deputy Prime Minister of Serbia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Head of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo."

01-53886 (E) 170901

United Nations S/PV.4374

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4374th meeting

Tuesday, 18 September 2001, 5.40 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Levitte	(France)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Touré
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Kuchinsky
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Hume

Agenda

The situation in Sierra Leone

Eleventh report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (S/2001/857 and Add.1)

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-53900 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Sierra Leone

Eleventh report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (S/2001/857 and Add.1)

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Sierra Leone to the United Nations, in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kamara (Sierra Leone) took a seat at the Council table.

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the eleventh report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone, document S/2001/857 and Addendum 1. Members of the Security Council also have before them document S/2001/874, which contains the text of a draft resolution.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following revision to be made to the text of the draft resolution contained in document S/2001/874 in its provisional form. In operative paragraph 11, the word "ongoing" should be inserted before the word "efforts".

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/2001/874) before it, as orally revised in its provisional form. If I hear no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Bangladesh, China, Colombia, France, Ireland, Jamaica, Mali, Mauritius, Norway, Russian Federation, Singapore, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution, as orally revised in its provisional form, has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1370 (2001).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 5.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4375

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4375th meeting

Tuesday, 18 September 2001, 5.45 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Levitte	(France)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Shen Guofang
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Jamaica	Miss Durrant
	Mali	Mr. Touré
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Kuchinsky
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Hume

Agenda

Consideration of the draft report of the Security Council to the General Assembly.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-53917 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.45 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Consideration of the draft report of the Security Council to the General Assembly

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now proceed to the consideration of its annual report to the General Assembly, the draft of which has been prepared by the Secretariat.

Members of the Council have before them the draft report of the Security Council to the General Assembly for the period from 16 June 2000 to 15 June 2001, as circulated by the Officer-in-Charge of the Department of Political Affairs on 27 August 2001, and a corrigendum thereto.

I should like to express my great appreciation and that of the Security Council to the Secretariat for the work it has undertaken in preparing this report.

I shall now call on the Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs to make an explanatory statement.

Mr. Fall (Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs) (*spoke in French*): The draft annual report of the Security Council for the period 16 June 2000 to 15 June 2001, to be submitted to the General Assembly in pursuance of Article 24, paragraph 3, and Article 15, paragraph 1, of the United Nations Charter, has been prepared by the Secretariat in line with the revised format agreed upon by the Security Council in 1974 and further revised in 1985, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997 and 1998.

The format of the draft report before the Council provides a guide to the activities of the Council in a concise manner. It should be noted that, in addition to the extensive coverage provided in part VI on the work of the subsidiary organs of the Council, the annual reports of the sanctions Committees are to be found in appendix XIII of the report, in accordance with the note by the President of the Security Council of 30 October 1998, document S/1998/1016. Further, pursuant to the understanding reached at the Council's consultations of the whole on 30 November 1998, statements to the press made by the President following consultations of the whole of the Council have been annexed to the monthly assessments prepared by the former Presidents at their discretion.

As the President has pointed out, the draft report was circulated by the Officer-in-Charge of the Department of Political Affairs on 27 August 2001 to the current members of the Security Council and to the members whose terms of office expired on 31 December 2000, for review and comments, if any. A corrigendum containing changes requested by two Council members and an addition made by the Secretariat is also before the Council.

Mr. Mahbubani (Singapore): We have decided today to go along with the adoption of this draft report, but we would like to place on record that we are doing so with reluctance and reservations. We feel obliged to place this on record because, when this draft report is discussed in the General Assembly, we will probably be very critical of it and it is only fair — before anyone asks us why, if we were so critical, we did not speak out at the point of adoption — that we speak out now. In doing so, we would like to stress that we are not criticizing any members of the Secretariat or, indeed, any of our colleagues. We know that a lot of hard work and effort have gone into the preparation of this draft report and we commend those who have put in the effort.

Unfortunately for us, however, we find that the final product is not a satisfactory one. In terms of illuminating the General Assembly on the actual work that takes place in the Council, I suspect that it fails to achieve that objective. We are not quite sure why this is the case. It is possibly because we may not have had sufficient time to discuss this draft report in depth. It could also possibly be because this draft report is the result of various decisions taken over the past 35 years, often without questioning.

Just to cite one example, this draft report, as you said, Sir, is for the period from 16 June 2000 to 15 June 2001. This divides two presidencies in half. We are not sure what the logic behind this is, but apparently this decision was taken 35 years ago and has not been revised since then.

Equally important, in the most recent decision we took, we agreed that this report should be more analytical. I think that, if we judge it by that criterion, clearly there is room for improvement.

We mentioned some of these reservations when we discussed this in the Council, but, as you said, Mr. President, the train had already left the station this year, and therefore we agreed to stay aboard.

We would also like to make it very clear, however, that we believe that the time has come to review this report and the manner in which the Security Council reports to the General Assembly. This is, after all, a key point that is mentioned in Article 24, paragraph 3, of the United Nations Charter, which states that

> "The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration."

Indeed, whenever we carry out our Charter responsibilities, we should do so as well as possible.

At the same time, over the years the report has grown in length. Based on a rough estimate of $600 a page, this draft report will cost us $350,340. I think that, if we are going to spend that kind of money, it is only fair that we should review the product that we are obtaining.

We are, of course, very pleased that the members of the Council have agreed to refer this matter to the informal working group of the Security Council concerning the Council's documentation and other procedural questions. We hope that this informal working group will meet soon to start reviewing ways of improving the report. Since this informal working group does not meet very often, I believe that the sooner it meets, the better it would be for our work.

Finally, since the report is intended for the members of the General Assembly, we hope that in this year's debate in the Assembly, its members will provide us feedback on both its content and format, and that we will be able to take on board this feedback in preparing next year's report.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (*spoke in Spanish*): With respect to this agenda item, I, too, believe that for the record, and for the purpose of inclusion in next year's report, we should not limit ourselves to hearing an explanatory statement from the Secretariat — from Mr. Fall — but that members of the Council should also make comments on the subject.

Several circumstances are mentioned in the introduction that were taken into account with a view to improving the product. As we said in consultations, and as Ambassador Mahbubani has noted, it says, for instance, that in 1997 new measures were adopted with a view to making future annual reports more analytical. That goal has not been achieved, at least insofar as the last three reports are concerned.

On the other hand, certain Council members have on numerous occasions met with the Assembly's working group. Both this year and last year, it was said that the report must be improved and made more useful. Those of us who are permanent members of the Assembly as well as non-permanent members of the Council bear an additional responsibility in this regard.

I am convinced that we can and must enhance its contents, so as to describe better the work of the Council and also to ensure that the report can better be utilized. As has been said, and as was noted in consultations, in no way should these comments prevent us from acknowledging the valuable work done by the Secretariat in compiling information and organizing it in keeping with the instructions and guidelines that the Council has laid down.

However, the report still is designed to be informational — to be a compendium of data that can easily be consulted, especially if we use modern technology. What we need is a report that is more flexible and more appealing: a report that can provide an accurate reflection of what is accomplished here, and one that would make it possible for other members of the Organization better to understand the Council's relationship with other bodies of the United Nations system.

We therefore support the efforts that are being made. Proposals will surely be made in this respect. We will participate in the debate in the Assembly, and we hope to submit alternatives in a timely fashion that will receive the support of the other members of the Council.

The President (*spoke in French*): As the representatives of missions that are seated in the Chamber, but not at the table, will have understood, the Council had a constructive discussion during its consultations on ways of enhancing the usefulness of the Council's annual report to the General Assembly.

I think that it is good to review, from time to time, procedures that year after year become routine. The Council is not the only United Nations body to be

affected by routine, but it does wish, whenever possible, to enhance its working methods. One example is the transparency of our meetings. Indeed, we are trying to increase the number of Council meetings that are open to all Members of the United Nations. This is the case for the troop-contributing countries. We adopted resolution 1353 (2001) and were able to implement it this month, through two lengthy meetings featuring dialogue and consultation with the troop-contributing countries, on Sierra Leone and on Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Let me give a third example, though there are certainly more. We have begun a debate at the ambassadorial level on the annual report that our Council submits to the Assembly. The working group will meet in a few days, so that — as Ambassador Mahbubani said — this year, when the train leaves, it will do so in a spirit of reform, with the goal of enhancing the preparation of the report and maximizing its usefulness to the General Assembly.

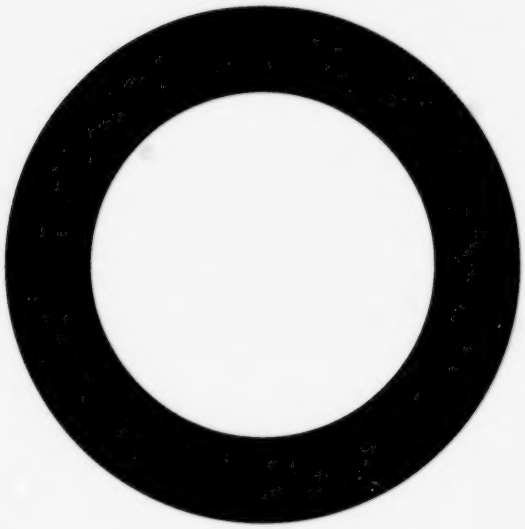
May I take that the draft report, as corrected, is adopted by the Council?

There being no objection, it is so decided.

This decision will be reflected in a note by the President of the Security Council, to be issued in document S/2001/876.

The Security Council has thus concluded its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.



United Nations S/PV.4376

Security Council

Distr.: General
20 September 2001

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4376th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private in the Security Council Chamber at Headquarters on Thursday, 20 September 2001, at 3 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"At its 4376th meeting, held in private at 3 p.m. on 20 September 2001, the Security Council considered the item entitled 'Briefing by His Excellency Mr. Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos, Minister of the Interior of Angola'.

"In accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, the President extended an invitation to His Excellency Mr. Fernando da Piedade Dias dos Santos, Minister of the Interior of Angola.

"The members of the Security Council had a constructive interactive discussion with the Minister of the Interior of Angola."

01-54465 (E) 200901

United Nations S/PV.4377

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4377th meeting

Thursday, 20 September 2001, 5.20 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Levitte	(France)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Amin
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	Colombia	Mr. Franco
	Ireland	Mr. Corr
	Jamaica	Mr. Ward
	Mali	Mr. Konfourou
	Mauritius	Mr. Koonjul
	Norway	Mr. Strømmen
	Russian Federation	Mr. Granovsky
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Ayari
	Ukraine	Mr. Kulyk
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Hume

Agenda

The situation in Angola.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-54447 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 5.20 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Angola

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council remains concerned at the continuing conflict in Angola. It reiterates its position that the primary responsibility for the continued fighting lies with the leadership of the armed faction of the União Nacional Para a Independencia Total de Angola (UNITA) headed by Mr. J. Savimbi, which is refusing to fulfil its obligations under the 'Accordos de Paz' (S/22609, annex), the Lusaka Protocol (S/1994/1441, annex) and relevant resolutions of the Security Council, which remain the only viable basis for political settlement of the conflict in Angola.

"The Council considers the four-point agenda for peace proposed by the Government of Angola a useful indication of areas where an agreement or progress should be reached. It calls on the UNITA armed faction headed by Mr. J. Savimbi to cease all military action and to enter into a dialogue with the Government of Angola on how to conclude the implementation of the Lusaka Protocol on this basis.

"The Security Council condemns in the strongest terms the terrorist attacks by UNITA forces on the civilian population of Angola. It stresses that such attacks are unacceptable and cannot be justified by any political goals. The Council reminds their perpetrators that such acts are in violation of international law and may have further implications.

"The Security Council reaffirms that the failure by the armed faction of UNITA to implement its obligations under the 'Accordos de Paz', the Lusaka Protocol and its relevant resolutions remains the reason for the Security Council sanctions against UNITA. The Council is determined to keep sanctions in place until it is convinced that the conditions in its relevant resolutions are met. It reiterates its call on all States to implement strictly the sanctions regime against UNITA and urges them to strengthen, where appropriate, their internal legislation related to application of sanction measures imposed by the Council. The Council reaffirms its intention to keep sanctions under close monitoring and periodic review in order to raise their effectiveness, including as they relate to UNITA activity abroad.

"The Security Council notes with satisfaction that, at their recent summit, the Heads of States and Governments of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries undertook to prepare a report on how SADC countries implement Security Council resolution 1295 (2000). The Council encourages SADC countries to cooperate fully in their efforts to implement the Security Council's measures against UNITA.

"The Security Council encourages the Government of Angola to promote the peace process and in this regard welcomes the initiatives by the Government of Angola, as well as by the Angolan people, including the civil society and the churches. It calls on the Angolan authorities to continue efforts aimed at national reconciliation and stabilization of the situation in the country in consultation with all segments of the Angolan society, including the civil society and the churches. These should focus on re-establishment of the State administration, improvement of the social and economic situation of the population, promotion of the rule of law, protection of human rights, the activity of the Interagency Committee and of the Peace and Reconciliation Fund.

"The Security Council supports the intention of the Government of Angola to hold elections as a part of the ongoing democratization process in Angola in conformity with the universally accepted democratic principles and standards. It stresses the need to create the necessary conditions for elections to be free and fair. The Council requests the Secretary-General

to provide appropriate support, in coordination with the Government of Angola, in preparation of elections, including through the work of the ongoing United Nations technical assistance mission.

"The Security Council notes the positive contribution that the United Nations Office in Angola (UNOA) is making towards finding the solution to the Angolan conflict. It reiterates its full support for the work of UNOA and the Representative of the Secretary-General.

"The Security Council is seriously concerned with the plight of the Angolan population, particularly the internally displaced persons, and, in order to alleviate its suffering, calls again on all parties concerned to facilitate the delivery of emergency relief assistance. The work of the United Nations agencies and other international organizations delivering assistance to those in the affected areas is of the utmost importance and must continue unobstructed with the financial support of the international community."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2001/24.

I once again thank the Minister of Interior and the Deputy Ministers accompanying him for having come to New York to honour us with their presence at this meeting.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.30 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4378

Security Council

Distr.: General
20 September 2001

Original: English

Official communiqué of the 4378th (closed) meeting of the Security Council

Held in private in the Security Council Chamber at Headquarters on Thursday, 20 September 2001, at 5.40 p.m.

In accordance with rule 55 of the provisional rules of procedure of the Security Council, the following communiqué was issued through the Secretary-General in place of a verbatim record:

"At its 4378th meeting, held in private on 20 September 2001, the Security Council considered the item entitled 'The situation in Burundi'.

"The Security Council heard briefings under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure by the Representative of the Facilitator of the Burundi Peace Process, Judge Mark Bomani and the Representative of the Facilitator to the Implementation Monitoring Committee, Professor Nicholas Haysom.

"The members of the Security Council had a constructive interactive discussion with the Representative of the Facilitator of the Burundi Peace Process and the Representative of the Facilitator to the Implementation Monitoring Committee."

01-54483 (E) 200901

United Nations S/PV.4379

Security Council

Fifty-sixth year

Provisional

4379th meeting

Friday, 21 September 2001, 12.10 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Levitte	(France)
Members:	Bangladesh	Mr. Ahsan
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	Colombia	Mr. Valdivieso
	Ireland	Mr. Ryan
	Jamaica	Mr. Ward
	Mali	Mr. Touré
	Mauritius	Mr. Gokool
	Norway	Mr. Kolby
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Singapore	Mr. Mahbubani
	Tunisia	Mr. Mejdoub
	Ukraine	Mr. Kuchinsky
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Eldon
	United States of America	Mr. Hume

Agenda

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Letter dated 14 September 2001 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2001/868).

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

01-54497 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 12.10 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Letter dated 14 September 2001 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/2001/868)

The President (*spoke in French*): I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Belgium and Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Živalj (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a seat at the Council table; Mr. De Ruyt (Belgium) took the seat reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Wolfgang Petritsch, High Representative for the Implementation of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I invite Mr. Petritsch to take a seat at the Council table.

In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Security Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Mr. Jacques Paul Klein, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Coordinator of United Nations Operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I invite Mr. Klein to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them a letter dated 14 September 2001 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council transmitting the twentieth report on the activities of the High Representative for the Implementation of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina, document S/2001/868.

As there is no list of speakers for the Council members, I invite Council members who wish to take the floor to so indicate to the Secretariat as from now.

Following statements by the Council members, I will give the floor to those Member States that have asked to speak under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Before giving the floor to those who wish to speak, I should like to extend the apologies of the members of the Council to all those who have had to wait, starting with Mr. Petritsch and Mr. Klein. In our consultations we had an important discussion on the question of terrorism, which delayed the beginning of this public meeting. If members of the Council agree, we can have an hour's discussion now, until 1.15 p.m., and conclude our meeting, and then resume it at 3 p.m. sharp.

I hear no objection.

I now invite the Council to hear briefings by Mr. Wolfgang Petritsch, High Representative for the Implementation of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Mr. Jacques Paul Klein, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Coordinator of United Nations Operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I now give the floor to the High Representative for the Implementation of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina, Mr. Wolfgang Petritsch.

Mr. Petritsch (*spoke in French*): This is the fifth time that I have had the honour of addressing the Security Council. Given the tragic events that took place 10 days ago in New York; Washington, D.C.; and Pennsylvania, one might wonder if perhaps there are not more important questions to be discussed than the

implementation of the Dayton-Paris Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina. Many have stated, however, that last week's terrorist attacks prove the truth of the idea of an inevitable clash of civilizations. Indeed, many had put forward the same argument during the horrible war that ravaged Bosnia and Herzegovina until about six years ago.

(*spoke in English*)

I firmly believe that the raison d'être of this world body — the United Nations — is to work actively against this flawed concept, and I wholeheartedly agree with the Secretary-General's assertion in today's *New York Times* that the United Nations is uniquely positioned to advance this effort. Having served now for two years as High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, I am deeply convinced that the Dayton peace process demonstrates that the comprehensive engagement of the international community to heal the wounds of conflict in the Balkans is, in fact, working. Bosnia and Herzegovina is still a country with a very delicate religious, cultural and social fabric. However, its post-war society is about to pull together the strength needed for this State to survive.

In this context, I believe it should be noted that the work which the international community is carrying out in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to strengthen State institutions and establish the rule of law, which was so obviously absent during and immediately after the war, is also contributing to the overall fight against global terrorism.

Since I last reported to the Security Council on 22 March, there has been considerable progress in this work, which is predicated on empowering the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina and bringing the country ever closer to the European mainstream.

At this juncture, let me recapitulate some of the more security-related aspects of our mandate to strengthen the State institutions. In January 2000, I imposed the State Border Service law, establishing an institution which effectively addresses the wartime legacy of fragmented, porous and unprotected borders, patrolled by local police forces which were often complicit in cross-border crime. Since then, the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) has taken on responsibility for setting up, training and monitoring the State Border Service. The Service currently covers 75 per cent of the border of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Full deployment is scheduled for the end of September 2002, pending budget allocations.

In the absence of secure State identity documents, my Office — the Office of the High Representative — initiated two years ago, in conjunction with the domestic authorities, the so-called common identity protection system, or Citizens Identity Protection System (CIPS), a package of legal and administrative steps which, among other things, will significantly improve Bosnia and Herzegovina's border regime. Under CIPS, Bosnia and Herzegovina will have its first integrated civil registry. Bosnian authorities can then compare the current passport database with the civil registry of valid Bosnian residents and isolate suspicious cases. This represents a tool that will allow Bosnian authorities to address concerns about their ability to deal with the phenomenon of cross-border crime. CIPS will also create a State-level network operations centre containing a blacklist of internationally wanted persons, as compiled by Interpol.

CIPS will deliver a range of additional benefits to Bosnia and Herzegovina. It will introduce a secure identity card which meets International Civil Aviation Organization standards for use as an international travel document. Most importantly, the information technology supporting the CIPS project will increase the confidence of immigration authorities that Bosnian identity documents are well-managed and secure. We hope that this will be a first step towards easing visa restrictions for citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina travelling abroad.

As early as February, my Office had proposed to the Bosnia and Herzegovina House of Representatives that the mandate of the Naturalization Commission, which reviews cases of wartime naturalization, be extended so as to address any irregularities in citizenship granted to foreigners during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I reiterated this request to Prime Minister Zlatko Lagumdzija this week when I discussed with him the urgent need for Bosnia and Herzegovina to establish an anti-terrorism task force in his country.

Prime Minister Lagumdzija is the leader of the Alliance for Change, a coalition of non-nationalist parties that formed Governments at the State and Federation level at the beginning of this year. The

Alliance groups together political parties that have significant ideological differences. However, it is held together by a common determination to replace the failed nationalist agenda with a raft of policies aimed at creating a modern European State.

The new, non-nationalist authorities have asserted themselves, and they demand greater respect and a partnership with the international community. Partnership is a necessary and welcome first step towards ownership. Indeed, I am encouraged to see that the Government is embracing the ownership concept I articulated when I arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina two years ago.

I responded to this new mood when I proposed the establishment of what we call a consultative partnership forum. In this forum I have already started to discuss and resolve urgent issues with the Council of Ministers, reflecting the principle of ownership. The partnership forum is not aimed at replacing existing mechanisms of Government. It will facilitate interaction between the leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on the one hand, and the international community, on the other.

I am now preparing for the inaugural meeting of a civic forum, which will extend informal consultations to intellectuals, business people, media personalities and religious and community leaders. The object of this is to promote active citizenship. Through the civic forum I intend to give the country's recovering civil society a more active role in the public policy discourse.

I have already spoken about the ruling coalition's determination to join the European structures. Allow me to draw the Council's attention to the passage of an election law by the State Parliament on 23 August. This legislation had been stalled for years because of chronic parliamentary obstructionism. I had consistently argued in the past that Bosnia and Herzegovina should pass this most basic of laws necessary for a democratic State, prior to being allowed to join the Council of Europe. Over the summer, a majority of deputies decided to support the law on the grounds that, whatever its limitations, it provides the necessary mechanism for holding free and fair elections. Their decision represents what I may describe as principled pragmatism, and it points towards a promising legislative future for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

While saluting this pragmatism on the part of Bosnia and Herzegovina politicians in securing passage of the election law, I would also like to commend the efforts of the Mission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which played a crucial role in piloting this legislation onto the statute book. As a consequence, I believe that Bosnia's application for membership in the Council of Europe should now be favourably and rapidly considered.

Let me turn to another burning issue — the state of the economy. Part of the changing circumstances in Bosnia and Herzegovina involves the evolution of a double transition. In addition to the shift from war to peace, Bosnia and Herzegovina is engaged in a transition from a communist command-driven economy to a free market; and, indeed, in many cases, the two are intimately interconnected. For example, the old payment bureaux, which we successfully abolished at the beginning of the year, were remnants of the command economy that stifled enterprise and were also being used to finance the nationalist parties that were dominant during the war. Now, a modern commercial banking system is swiftly taking root in the country.

However, in the last six months, overall economic progress has, unfortunately, been patchy.

August should have seen the selection of a telecommunications company to take up the third mobile phone licence for Bosnia and Herzegovina, a crucial step forward in a strategic economic sector. The Communications Regulatory Agency, established by my decision of March 2001, had organized a tender that required the successful bidder to invest up to $200 million in a new, State-wide mobile phone network. The tender had to be abandoned when two of the four foreign companies that had submitted bids pulled out in the final stages, citing uncertainty over the Council of Ministers' attitude towards incoming investors.

The failure of the GSM tender was of course a self-inflicted wound. What Bosnia and Herzegovina needs is the total, immediate and professional commitment of its leaders to long-term economic reform, not short-term political calculation. My Office will seek to encourage that commitment.

There is a danger that unless the pace of reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina rapidly increases, it will be left behind and will remain the weak link in the regional chain. Bosnia and Herzegovina's overall

economic growth, projected to be around 5 per cent this year, continues to disappoint. According to the World Bank, it would take another six to eight years of annual growth of 6 per cent for Bosnia and Herzegovina to achieve a level of credit worthiness that would be sufficient to finance future development. On the positive side, it has become increasingly apparent that the Alliance parties are beginning to realize that any further delay in instituting real economic reform is not an option. Citizens are impatient, and will not allow their representatives to drag their feet prior to the elections to be held late next year.

The Federation recorded solid growth in the first half of 2001, whereas the economy of the Republika Srpska actually contracted in the same period. However, the fact that growth of any sort has been achieved this year, in the face of declining donor aid and a weak growth of the global economy, may be viewed as a promising indication that the economy of Bosnia and Herzegovina is beginning to function under its own steam, albeit at a minimal level.

The post-war recovery of Bosnia and Herzegovina has depended from the very beginning on the return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes. According to Human Rights Watch, a breakthrough in the return process was achieved last year, and this positive trend was maintained during the first half of 2001. In the first six months of 2001, there were more than 35,000 so-called minority returns, an 85 per cent increase over the same period last year. These figures point to an unstoppable momentum. I view this as a result of activities undertaken by the Reconstruction and Return Task Force (RRTF). The RRTF is the umbrella group of agencies that includes the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Stabilization Force (SFOR), the European Commission, the World Bank, the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) and the OSCE. The Task Force operates under the auspices of the Office of the High Representative, making common and productive use of information, facilities and personnel.

The process of return depends on economic and social sustainability — the reopening of shops, factories, schools and so on. As communities recover they become better able to absorb larger numbers of returnees. By applying consistent and focused pressure on recalcitrant authorities, the RRTF has been remarkably successful in boosting the number of people who have been able to go home. Let me take this opportunity to underline that the presence of SFOR on the ground remains a precondition for those efforts to be brought to a successful end.

Work has also continued apace to create a political environment that is conducive to return. By the end of July, both entities' Constitutional Commissions, established by me in January to implement last year's Constitutional Court ruling on the constituency of peoples, had adopted provisional reports on draft amendments to their respective entity Constitutions. These amendments will ensure that no citizen living in either entity will experience inequality because of ethnicity or religion. This autumn will likely see an animated debate over the adoption of these amendments by the respective entity Parliaments.

The work of the Constitutional Commissions also demonstrates how the Dayton process can be adapted to meet changing needs. If one day the representatives of the peoples and citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina decide that they want to amend the core annex of the Peace Agreement, the Constitution, they can do so.

As the country's constitutional settlement is modified through consensus and as politicians turn their attention to pressing issues of economic reform, I have acted decisively to quell any recurrence of separatism.

On 6 April, I placed the Hercegovacka Bank, the biggest bank in Herzegovina and the second biggest in Bosnia and Herzegovina, under provisional administration after I had been presented with clear indications that the bank was being used to finance illicitly a variety of nationalist projects, including the attempt to launch the so-called Croat self-rule, specifically condemned by the Security Council in its statement of 22 March 2001. The extremely violent reaction by a well-organized mob to the establishment of the provisional administration indicates that we went for the right target.

The bank's provisional administrator has spent the summer examining the books and retrieving thousands and thousands of documents which the former management sought unsuccessfully to erase from computer files. She will shortly report her findings.

In March, as a corollary of the self-rule project, thousands of Croat soldiers deserted from the

Federation army. By mid-June a majority had re-enlisted. The hard-line Croat politicians, who had exhorted troops to leave the barracks with the promise that their salaries would continue to be paid and even enhanced, were unable to deliver on this promise. With their failure, one of the most serious challenges to the Dayton peace process was overcome.

While standing firm against regressive nationalism, my office has made consistent and increasingly successful efforts to reach out to moderate Croat leaders and to respond to the legitimate concerns of the Croat constituent people of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In May, Serb extremists and local thugs attacked local and international participants at the ground-breaking ceremonies for the reconstruction of historic mosques in Trebinje and in Banja Luka, which had been demolished under the wartime regime of the Republika Srpska. One of the participants at the Banja Luka ceremony subsequently died of his injuries. The Republika Srpska authorities conspicuously failed to maintain public security during these well-orchestrated outbreaks of nationalist violence.

After consultations with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Jacques Paul Klein, I asked Republika Srpska authorities to dismiss immediately several high-ranking police officials who had failed in their professional obligations. I also summoned the Republika Srpska leadership — the President, Vice-President, Prime Minister and relevant ministers — to Sarajevo, where I made it clear to them that if they did not make arrangements for the ceremony to proceed, with complete security and appropriate dignity, and if significant changes were not made in the Republika Srpska's social and political structures, there would be serious consequences for the future of the entity. I laid out the steps that must be taken in order to change this regressive mindset, unfortunately prevalent in the Republika Srpska, and the steps that must be taken to find and punish the culprits in the violence of May and to ensure that such violence is never repeated.

In addressing the violence surrounding the mosque ceremonies and the flawed political environment which produced it, I received the forthright support of UNMIBH. The Mission has also been at the forefront of efforts by the international community to ensure that those responsible for the violence of May are identified and prosecuted. Finally, on 18 June, the cornerstone was laid at the Banja Luka mosque site, with the President and Prime Minister of the Republika Srpska in attendance.

On 11 July, a ceremony to mark the sixth anniversary of the massacre at Srebrenica was held without incident. Security was provided by SFOR in cooperation with local police from the Republika Srpska and the International Police Task Force (IPTF).

Meanwhile, I am able to report two promising developments regarding the stance the Republika Srpska is taking on military issues. At the end of July, I communicated to the Republika Srpska and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia authorities that the defence annex to the Special Parallel Relations Agreement that they had just signed had no legal effect, as they had failed to consult my Office, as required by this very agreement. Delegations from the Republika Srpska, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and my Office met last month and agreed on the way forward to the conclusion of a future defence annex.

In July, the Bosnia and Herzegovina presidency formally applied for the membership of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Partnership for Peace programme of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This will require a joint military structure that closely coordinates the operations of Federation and Republika Srpska armed forces. This in turn represents a viable long-term military strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is particularly encouraging that the initiative for this has come from the tripartite presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Next week the Republika Srpska National Assembly will decide whether or not to adopt legislation formalizing and facilitating the cooperation of the Republika Srpska with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Regardless of the outcome, the Republika Srpska has a standing obligation to cooperate with the Tribunal, an obligation that it has failed to honour so far. Passage of the bill, though technically unnecessary, would represent an important acknowledgement on the part of the authorities of the Republika Srpska of the fact that their entity cannot continue as the only holdout in the region against the process of international justice. It is high time the remaining fugitives from justice, beginning with Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, were apprehended and transferred to The Hague. Inasmuch

as these and other indictees have been able to find refuge inside and outside Bosnia and Herzegovina, routinely travelling to and from neighbouring countries, I am seeking to promote a regional response to the apprehension of these fugitives.

One bright spot in regional cooperation has been the succession agreement signed in Vienna on 29 June by the five former Yugoslav republics. Under my separate mandate for this succession issue, I oversaw and mediated the negotiations and acted as a witness to the signature of the agreement. With this treaty, the first agreement since the end of the old Yugoslavia to be concluded among all five States, the protracted legal dismantling of the old Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is brought to a close. It allows the successor States to gain access to their agreed portion of the former Yugoslavia's assets, an important boost — approximately $125 million in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina — to their respective State finances. I would like to express my gratitude to the Secretary-General, who graciously accepted my proposal of being the depository of this agreement.

Improving State and entity finances, professionalizing the civil service, promoting the work of independent regulatory agencies, and establishing a modern legal framework: all of this will endow Bosnia and Herzegovina with institutions that can maintain stability and, in due course, take the country into Europe. In the last six months, important progress has been made in developing and strengthening strategic institutions.

The Independent Judicial Commission, which I established last December, replacing the United Nations-led Judicial System Assessment Programme, has the task of strengthening the independent judiciary of the country. It aims to reform the appointment process for judges and other court personnel. It is reviewing the qualifications and conduct of all judges and prosecutors, and it is introducing initiatives designed to improve the training offered to personnel throughout the judicial system over the next 18 months.

Work is also under way to overhaul the civil service, freeing bureaucracy from political influence and raising its standards. We are pushing for the swift adoption of a civil service law prepared by my Office that will professionalize the state civil service, making merit the main criterion for appointment and promotion.

In the spring of this year, I was asked by the Foreign Ministers of the Contact Group, as well as by the Foreign Ministers of the European Union, to oversee the streamlining of civil international peace implementation structures in Bosnia and Herzegovina with a view to improving efficiency and coordination. This is especially important in light of our desire to foster local ownership.

The present level of international commitment cannot be sustained. Donor fatigue has already led to a strategic reduction in actual and projected aid. Equally important: as long as the international community determines politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina to such a large degree, it will inhibit the mature growth of domestic institutions. We thus need to develop, in coordination with the entire international community and in consultation with the local Government, a plan that will set the stage for the final phase of peace implementation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Let me emphasize the need to focus on the end state, rather than merely on an end date. However, it is imperative that we set benchmarks and develop action plans for our core activities to improve focus and cooperation.

Since my last report to the Security Council, my Office has carried out a comprehensive overview of the international community's activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Office of the High Representative has sought and received proposals from other international agencies. The United Nations mandate given to me, the High Representative, under resolution 1256 (1999) obligates me to take an inclusive approach to our streamlining efforts. At the meeting of the Steering Board of the Peace Implementation Council last week, I invited representatives from UNMIBH, UNHCR, the United Nations Development Programme, OSCE and SFOR to present their views. In its communiqué, the Steering Board has tasked my Office with identifying core requirements and functions for the international community, reviewing tasks, mandates and field presence, and presenting options for a follow-up police monitoring mission. This plan of action will be presented for consideration by the Steering Board at its December 2001 meeting.

Let me state in this context that I appreciate and welcome the presence of Jacques Paul Klein, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, at this very important meeting.

In concluding, I would like to stress the vision that the international community must adhere to in its efforts. Our task is not to work on a mere exit strategy; Bosnia and Herzegovina needs an entry strategy into European structures. Membership in the Council of Europe is a first step. The European Union has further defined the path with its Stabilisation and Association Agreements.

In my address to the Council, I have gone into some detail in order to demonstrate the at times complex and technical nature of our engagement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, I believe that these are indispensable elements of our mission to help build a viable and truly multi-ethnic State of Bosnia and Herzegovina that can take its rightful place in the European family of States.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to Mr. Jacques Paul Klein, Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Coordinator of United Nations Operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Mr. Klein: At this time of wrenching anguish and tragedy for the people and city of New York, the empathy of the men and women of the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) for them is real. Many of my staff come from this city; a large part of the United States of America contingent of the International Police Task Force (IPTF) is from the New York City Police Department. They have lost close friends and colleagues. Their ability to console the survivors and their families is limited to the telephone. This is one of the unwritten human dimensions of the job of peacekeeping: the distance from family and friends when tragedy strikes at home.

But our work must go on with new urgency and determination. Weak and failed States are a target of opportunity for extremism. War and conflict have domestic and international consequences long after the fighting has stopped. We have begun to understand a new reality. Without reconciliation, tolerance and the rule of law, we are all potential victims of violence and terrorism.

We must respond on two fronts: to find and punish those who committed these abominable acts and to establish the social, political and economic conditions in which democracy, peaceful resolution of disputes and the rule of law can govern national and international society.

This is precisely what the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina is striving to achieve. UNMIBH has, admittedly, a thin slice of the international mandate, even less than that envisaged in annex 11 of the Dayton Accords. Specifically, our role is to reform and restructure the local police forces, but, as we look at the major domestic and international problem areas — terrorism, corruption, discrimination — the establishment of a professional, non-political and honest police force is the key to resolving each of them. And as we look at the future priorities — economic reform to encourage investment, sustainable minority returns and institution-building — none of these will be achieved without rule of law based on effective policing and an impartial judiciary.

Ambassador Petritsch has reported eloquently on the overall progress of the peace implementation process in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I wish to update the Council simply on the major achievements of UNMIBH since my last briefing in June and to seek its engagement in and guidance on the process of streamlining in the context of imminent decisions about the future of UNMIBH and the United Nations role in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

With respect to the progress of UNMIBH, I must admit to some frustration. Through our Mandate Implementation Plan, UNMIBH is robustly undertaking one of the largest police reform and restructuring missions in history, but, as we have repeatedly noted, the judicial system remains largely dysfunctional. Two weeks ago, a policeman in Trebinje chose not to carry out a potentially dangerous arrest of a known smuggler. His reason was simple: twice before he had put his life at risk arresting this man, but both times the perpetrator had been immediately released by local courts. In such circumstances, police forces cannot be effective. Police reform and judicial reform must proceed hand in hand.

Equally important to the goal of establishing professional police forces is the unresolved salary issue. As long as police do not regularly receive wages sufficient to feed their families, their performance will always be open to compromise and corruption. No amount of restructuring and retraining can overcome economic necessity.

I am prepared to aggressively weed out corrupt and non-performing police officers, but this is ultimately an impossible task if honest policemen cannot make an honest living. For this reason, we have

constantly advocated that priority should be given to police salaries and housing allocation. Judges' salaries were substantially raised a year ago, but police in the Republika Srpska entity have received only nine inadequate salaries in the past 12 months. Consequently, even some of our minority police recruitment projects are suffering. Despite the most intensive efforts, the pool of displaced police officers willing to return to an uncertain and inadequate income is ever diminishing.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, which are beyond the authority of UNMIBH to address, we are making good progress on our core mandate. Our latest review showed that 30 of our 64 projects are completed; 28 are ongoing; and eight are in the planning stage.

The State Border Service (SBS), which Ambassador Petritsch mentioned, now covers about 75 per cent of the border and is already proving its worth. Illegal migration through the Sarajevo airport has decreased from 25,000 last year to about 9,000 as of 15 September this year. Attempts to bypass the Sarajevo airport controls by using the Tuzla airport have been thwarted, and the director of the offending airline company, Air Bosna, has resigned.

We are delighted to have concluded a memorandum of understanding this week with the United Kingdom for the co-location of migration experts with our Border Service Department as part of the European Union Illegal Migration Initiative. There is no alternative to a regional approach to this growing problem.

The State Border Service has also confiscated 1.2 million convertible marka of contraband goods, thus demonstrating that it will contribute to increased customs and excise revenues. It should be borne in mind that effective border controls are a major weapon in the fight against international terrorism. However, to complete this vital project by November 2002, additional funds are urgently required. Assuming that the 2001 State budget is implemented, and a similar allocation is made for 2002, the remaining shortfall is approximately $12 million.

UNMIBH has taken stringent measures against human trafficking. Under the UNMIBH Special Trafficking Operational Programme (STOP), conceptualized by Mme. Celhia de Lavarene, special teams of international and local police are aggressively pursuing traffickers. In the past six months, all 290 known brothels have been raided, some several times. With the assistance of the International Organization for Migration, over 150 women have been repatriated this year alone. We are now focusing on prosecuting traffickers and brothel owners, and on assisting international efforts to identify the gangs behind trafficking. In this regard, more protection needs to be given in their home countries for trafficked women who agree to testify in court.

Through the regular ministerial-level meeting on police and the trilateral Regional Law Enforcement Agreement, we are building patterns and institutions for regional cooperation against organized crime and illegal migration. The State Information and Protection Agency (SIPA) that we are creating will be an essential complement to our efforts to improve the efficiency of police cooperation between the 23 different police administrations in the fight against organized crime. However, we are concerned about possible competing and uncoordinated initiatives. Next week we will chair the first coordination meeting between major regional and bilateral parties working on these issues.

The Police Commissioner Project is fundamental to ensuring an independent and apolitical police force. It is also the first step in the formation of a professional non-partisan civil service. In the Republika Srpska entity and in 6 out of 10 cantons, interim police commissioners have been appointed, pending the amendment of legislation to enable the posts to be formally established and filled permanently through open competition.

But, particularly in the Sarajevo canton and in areas dominated by Croat hardliners, we are meeting political obstruction. In the Croat areas, suitable candidates have been identified, but local authorities are attempting to put conditions on their appointment. In Sarajevo, the Ministry of the Interior, apparently under instructions from members of the Alliance parties, has completely failed to nominate even one candidate, out of 1,800 local police, who meets the simple criteria we have set out — namely, eight years of police experience, not a political office holder and a clean wartime criminal and housing record. I find this to be extraordinary and unacceptable behaviour from political parties who claim to be serious partners with us and the rest of the international community.

UNMIBH is also engaged in constructive dialogue with the Stabilization Force (SFOR) on how to bridge the public order security gap through advanced training of local police riot control support units by the IPTF and the SFOR Multinational Support Units. From recent discussions in Brussels and in Sarajevo, I believe that the will is there, but additional funding is required for accommodation and equipment to enable these units to operate in company-size formations.

This week, UNMIBH began training the second group of 26 military observers for deployment to Ethiopia and Eritrea. The second contingent of civilian police has been deployed to East Timor. By the end of this year, I expect that a multi-ethnic composite logistics unit of over 120 military personnel will be ready for deployment to other United Nations peace operations.

Turning now to streamlining, I have consistently maintained that as long as the international community continues to pursue a piecemeal approach to the Balkans, in which loose coordination among a multitude of actors is an unsatisfactory substitute for purposeful planning, the real opportunities to close a tragic decade of war and instability will go begging. Streamlining presents a unique and long-overdue opportunity to correct the deficiencies in the structure and activities of the current international presence. But this opportunity can be realized only if streamlining moves beyond mere ad hoc downsizing of existing international operations and organizations and is instead based on an agreed international strategic vision and plan that has the authority and support of the Security Council.

Also, decisions must be made in the coming months about the future of United Nations peace operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Next month, UNMIBH must present its budget for the period July 2002 to June 2003. Bearing in mind that the UNMIBH core mandate is scheduled for completion in December 2002, I seek your guidance on what should remain in 2003, other than an administrative liquidation presence.

Last week, at Ambassador Petritsch's invitation, I addressed the Peace Implementation Council Steering Board in Brussels. I noted that any decision regarding a continued United Nations peacekeeping presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina after 2002 is the sole prerogative of the Security Council. With respect to the specific goals and directions of streamlining, I emphasized that the establishment of the rule of law has to be a core task of the international peace implementation effort and that without it the other three core goals — refugee return, institution building and economic development — cannot be achieved.

Council members may ask what is the optimum manner in which to carry out the core tasks. On the basis of extensive United Nations and personal experience in the region, I believe that streamlining should be based on the following key elements.

One element is a comprehensive 2002-2005 Dayton Implementation Plan, with benchmarks and timelines, endorsed by key international bodies — the United Nations, the Peace Implementation Council, the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization — and including guaranteed multi-year funding of the agreed programmes.

The implementation of the agreed plan should prepare the country for the commencement of European integration, which ultimately is the only long-term basis for stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the wider region.

In the medium term, activities for each of the core tasks — rule of law, refugee return, institution building and economic development — should be functionally consolidated so that one organization will have primary responsibility over each core programme and be held accountable for carrying out its part of the Dayton Implementation Plan according to realistic but strict deadlines.

SFOR should be included in this process. Without the implementation of some key tasks in the military sector, civilian implementation will be incomplete. Moreover, a continued robust SFOR presence is an absolutely essential component of civilian peace implementation.

Turning now to the question of implementation of the core programme of the rule of law after 2002, I raise the following considerations.

Subject to the necessary financial and political support, UNMIBH is on track to complete its technical mandate of police reform and restructuring by December of next year. At that time, there will be approximately 20,000 vetted local police plus the SBS, trained according to European standards and organized

in accountable and transparent civilian police structures, with a basic level of police equipment. Local riot control units will be fully established. The institutions and mechanisms for internal and regional police cooperation and mechanisms for progressively increasing the multi-ethnic composition of police will be ongoing.

In sum, the police forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina will know how to do their work professionally, but their willingness and ability to do so will continue to be severely constrained by political interference in policing, inadequate and irregular salaries and the lack of effective and impartial judicial institutions.

In these circumstances, a follow-on intrusive police-monitoring mission post-2002 will be essential to ensure that the achievements of UNMIBH are not lost and that the ongoing work of the international community is not compromised.

Irrespective of which organization should take on the task, two options merit consideration: a stand-alone police-monitoring mission or a comprehensive rule-of-law mission, as originally envisaged in annex 11 of the Dayton Accords. With the Council's engagement, involvement and guidance, streamlining offers a unique and timely opportunity to make the optimum decision.

Option one is a stand-alone police-monitoring mission. The role of the mission would be to ensure that local police planning and performance in the key areas of returnee security, public order and human rights are monitored intensively; internal and regional coordination and cooperation is maintained; minority recruitment continues; and police structures are not politically compromised. This suggests a mission of between 450 and 500 international police personnel, plus interpreters and administrative support staff.

Option two is a comprehensive rule-of-law mission that would bring together under one roof the police, the judiciary and the penal system. This would implement the lessons learned from United Nations experiences in Kosovo and East Timor, which demonstrated that there is a triangle in which the police, the judiciary and the penal system are inseparable. It would be consistent with the principle of one organization — one responsibility, which is a desired outcome of the streamlining process. And it would facilitate the introduction of a more efficient "pillar" structure for the organization of the international effort in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

If option two is preferred, the United Nations has extensive expertise and capacity to take on such a mission. In this way, peace implementation would continue to be a collective endeavour between five principal organizations, but with clearer mandates and responsibilities. For example, the High Representative would be responsible for the core programme of institution-building, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) would manage refugee return, the OSCE would do democratization and human rights, SFOR would be responsible for security and the United Nations would manage the rule of law.

I raise these possibilities for the Council's consideration and guidance. Even though the current UNMIBH mandate runs until June 2002, if UNMIBH is to be terminated in December 2002, urgent decisions are required to plan the downsizing and liquidation of the Mission and to enable the successor organizations to plan its future mission.

(*spoke in French*)

The terrorist attacks carried out in New York and Washington D.C. last week were attacks on us all. Those who reject peaceful conflict resolution, and turn instead to indiscriminate terror against innocents, reject the very basis of civilization. The role of the United Nations in seeking to rid the world of the scourge of war is more important than ever. Only an international structure and consensus can successfully take on this global challenge. We say it so often that we sometimes overlook that the United Nations was formed specifically because nations were united in their commitment to the peaceful resolution of disputes and the rule of law. That commitment needs to be reinvigorated now.

Bosnia and Herzegovina cannot be seen as some distant venture, isolated from global developments. The international community has real and abiding interests. Bosnia and Herzegovina remains a test case for the ability of three ethnic and religious groups — Bosniacs, Serbs and Croats — to live in tolerance in one State under the rule of law.

If the multi-ethnic society of Bosnia and Herzegovina fails this test, after six years of efforts and $6 billion of international investment, I fear there will

be no hope for multi-ethnic States anywhere in the Balkans or in any other area of the world where there is historical, religious and cultural dissent. In such circumstances, further State fragmentation and violence are likely, and the international community will yet again have to deploy a massive long-term military presence to prevent non-viable mono-ethnic mini-States from going to war with each other, with their own minorities or with the international order at large.

I urge the Council to remain engaged and to resist fatigue, be it political, donor or compassion fatigue. Give the world the leadership and the vision necessary to make the ideals of this great institution a global reality.

Mr. Kuchinsky (Ukraine): At the outset, let me thank High Representative Petritsch and Special Representative Jacques Paul Klein for their succinct and lucid briefings, as well as for their comprehensive report, which provided us with a clear vision of the current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

My delegation is encouraged by the positive tendencies testifying to the fact that the general situation in that country has become more stable. Ukraine welcomes the results-oriented efforts of the High Representative aimed in particular at consolidating the Bosnia and Herzegovina State institutions and at strengthening their competencies. We also appreciate the High Representative's activities focused on economic reform and refugee return.

We are pleased to note further progress in creating a multi-ethnic and multicultural united State of Bosnia and Herzegovina based on the democratic and humanitarian ideals of modern Europe.

Ukraine particularly welcomes the recent decision of the House of Representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina to adopt the election law, which in fact was a major step forward on the road to European integration. It is also an important prerequisite for the accession of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Council of Europe.

In this context, I wish to commend the successful work of the Office of the High Representative and the representatives of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which made a remarkable contribution to achieving this political compromise. We support the steps of the High Representative aimed at stabilizing political life in Bosnia and Herzegovina. My delegation fully endorses the measures taken to preserve the country's unity and to create conditions necessary for the productive work of State institutions based on non-nationalistic principles.

Ukraine welcomes the adoption by the Council of Ministers of the Stability Pact Charter for Media Freedom. We believe that this important step will provide a new impetus to the further development of free and pluralistic media in the country. Let me also mention the adoption of the Bosnia and Herzegovina defence policy, which has strengthened the authority of the presidency in the field of defence and security. We believe that such a decision will help intensify the further development of Bosnia and Herzegovina's security and defence identity.

In this context, my delegation supports the intention of Bosnia and Herzegovina to join the Partnership for Peace programme. We hope that a positive response to this initiative can provide an important incentive for Bosnia and Herzegovina in taking forward the political and military reforms.

As for the economic dimension, we are confident that the advancement of economic reforms in the country should continue to be a key element of the international community's strategy. At the same time, we should be realistic about the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina will continue to face serious economic difficulties until the structural reform has been fully implemented. My delegation welcomes the decision made by the High Representative, in pursuit of economic reforms in the financial, labour and pension sectors, in creating a favourable environment for the effective functioning of industry and trade and in promoting the privatization process.

We have noted the concern expressed by the High Representative about the state of public finances in the country, as indicated by the results of the audit of the entity budgets for 2000. In this respect, let me stress again that effective economic reforms in any country are impossible without sound and transparent financial administration.

While noting the recent progress on returns of minorities, we believe that much more should be done in ensuring the conditions necessary for their security and the equality of their rights upon their return. In this respect, it is of particular importance to make the property laws effective, to promote further

comprehensive judicial reform and to strengthen human rights institutions. My delegation applauds the measures taken by the High Representative in this regard.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to underline the importance we attach to ensuring the human rights not only of the three constituent peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also of its national minorities. As the Council knows, the Ukrainian ethnic community constitutes the fourth-largest ethnic group in the country. My delegation commends the efforts of the High Representative aimed at improving conditions for the national, political and cultural revival of the national minorities in the country. Moreover, I would like to express our readiness to be useful to the Office of the High Representative in this important work. At the same time, we would greatly appreciate the comments of the High Representative on the current situation in the field of the protection of the rights of national minorities. My delegation would also welcome his remarks on further necessary steps in this regard.

The President (*spoke in French*): Since we are running late, I will call on two more speakers before suspending the meeting.

Mr. Hume (United States of America): Given the lateness of the hour, I will be brief.

I would like to thank our two visitors for the briefings they gave us today. I think they have given us a great deal to think about as we look at how to go ahead with the international community's continuing responsibility to support the implementation of the Dayton Peace Accords.

The streamlining process that we have heard about reflects the evolution of the international community's role in Bosnia and Herzegovina and is a clear signal to its leaders about the need to work together ever more diligently to make progress on refugee returns, joint State institutions and economic reform.

On hearing the High Representative's report about the slow progress in building healthy joint State institutions for Bosnia, it strikes me that this is a problem not only because citizens are deprived of necessary services but also because the investment required for economic growth and for security is discouraged. I think that we will have to find some way to institutionalize the sense of urgency rather than accept practices of procrastination. If we are able to do that, we are more likely to find overall success.

We think that there must be a concerted effort by the Office of the High Representative and Bosnia's leaders, recognizing the progress that has already been made in some of these areas, to strengthen border controls, passport issuance and the fight against the organized smuggling of women and other transnational crimes that are often linked to terrorist activities.

We have appreciated what we have been briefed on in this regard, but obviously this is an effort that has to be pushed even further. We are encouraged that progress on refugee returns continues to improve — quite dramatically, in fact. But this will not be sustainable without progress in consolidating and strengthening Bosnia's joint institutions. One of the key issues in the streamlining exercise is addressing the police-related mission that will remain after the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina has completed its work next year. This fundamental task is one of the priority considerations that is guiding our thinking about the future.

Mr. Eldon (United Kingdom): I, too, will be extremely brief. I can afford to do so not least because the representative of the European Union will be speaking later in the debate.

I would like to focus on three key points, the first of which is the streamlining exercise. I do not think it would be appropriate now for me to go into the details of the pros and cons one way or the other. Certainly, as Ambassador Hume said, the future police presence is going to be one key element of whatever is put together. But I think that we, the international community generally and the Steering Board will look to be presented later in the year with a solution with which all the various constituent bodies and organizations are happy; which avoids duplication; and which meets the long-term vision, so to speak, about which Mr. Petritsch and Mr. Klein have spoken.

I would just like to take this opportunity to say to the Office of the High Representative and to the High Representative himself that we hope that work will be taken forward quickly against the sort of background and within the parameters that I have just outlined.

Secondly, on the State Border Service, Mr. Klein referred to the recent memorandum of understanding that the United Kingdom signed with the United

Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We continue to regard the State Border Service as a matter of high priority, and I was very interested to hear that 75 per cent of the border is now covered. We would be interested to have Mr. Klein's assessment later on as to how long it will take to cover 100 per cent of the border.

Finally, I would just like to support what Ambassador Hume said about refugee returns and ask what progress there has been on implementing the Constitutional Court's decision on constituent peoples. It will be interesting to hear from Mr. Petritsch whether the entities' Constitutional Commissions are yet close to reaching an agreement on this subject.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I propose to suspend the meeting and to resume promptly at 3 p.m. I ask that everyone be here at 3 p.m. precisely.

The meeting was suspended at 1.20 p.m.